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# ***JPRS Report***

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## **Soviet Union**

***Political Affairs***

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# Soviet Union

## Political Affairs

JPRS-UPA-89-031

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### **Moscow Gorkom Official Interviewed on Party Work**

18000683 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 23 Feb 89 pp 1-2

[Interview with A.Ya. Nemtinov, chief of the CPSU Moscow Gorkom Department for Organizational, Party and Personnel work, by Correspondent M. Abdullayev; date and place not given]

**[Text] A CPSU Moscow Gorkom plenum will be held tomorrow. During it, specific measures will be developed to implement the critical comments and proposals expressed during the 27th city party conference.**

On the eve of the plenum, we met with Anatoliy Yakovlevich Nemtinov, candidate member of the CPSU Moscow Gorkom Buro and chief of the party gorkom department for organizational, party and personnel work, and asked him to answer our questions.

[Correspondent] Anatoliy Yakovlevich, it has become known from the latest report on the CPSU Moscow Gorkom Buro meeting, which was published in MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA, that 416,000 critical comments and proposals were expressed in primary party organizations during the last campaign to hear reports and elect officials. Perhaps it is not quite appropriate and correct to compare today's figures with the figures of previous reporting and election campaigns, but nevertheless: How would you explain the fact that in 1985, for example, almost 40,000 more critical comments and proposals were expressed than now?

[Nemtinov] It is really difficult to compare these figures. Critical comments and proposals are not an end in themselves. You will agree that to "plan" them as some kind of indicator, yes, even a growing one, is absurd. Nevertheless, it is of course possible to explain the difference. For example, we analyzed the proposals directed toward the party gorkom and noted one of their characteristic features: The number of comments directly concerned with the economic activity of enterprises and organizations was significantly lower in comparison with 1985. Special attention is being paid to improving ideological and indoctrinational work and to increasing the level of methodological help to rayon and primary party organizations. Therefore, the activity aimed at demarcating party and economic functions is already providing a certain result. If one talks about specifics, the gorkom's department of organizational, party and personnel work has already summed up all of the critical comments and proposals that arrived at the address of the CPSU Moscow Gorkom—there were 152 of them. Content-wise, they can be divided into three equal blocks—questions on organizational, party and personnel work; ideological problems; and party leadership of social and economic development. Only eight proposals concerned the specific character of the party gorkom's state and legal, general and international departments—although you would not say in this case

that they exceed purely party limits. For example, here is the suggestion of V. Kazakovtseva, a blank stamper in the Bolshevichka MPSHO, during the 27th city party conference: "When possible, it is necessary to declassify party documents and to make the CPSU Moscow Gorkom information bulletin an open one." The implementation of this proposal was allocated to the gorkom's general department. Incidentally, a large portion of what was proposed by Kazakovtseva has already been accomplished: The "For Official Use" stamps have been removed from the CPSU Moscow Gorkom information bulletin and a number of other documents.

[Correspondent] Actually, it is difficult to relate this question to an economic one or one outside the competence of party organs. It only evokes a "but." As far as we know, V. Kazakovtseva did not speak at the city conference.

[Nemtinov] Yes, she did not manage to speak, although she was among the 40 individuals who had registered to participate in the debates. All of those, who did not manage to get to the podium, were offered an opportunity to submit the thesis of their speech to the conference presidium. The comments and proposals, with which the communists had come to the city forum, were thus taken into consideration and incorporated into the draft plan for measures to implement them.

The same thing was done at the rayon and primary level. In today's practices, every opinion is taken into consideration and does not go without attention. I think that there is no need to explain how important this is not only for the current work of any party organization but also for the communists themselves and for maintaining their activity. In the end, a serious and weighty attitude toward comments and proposals is a significant step toward overcoming the eternal contradiction between words and deeds.

Direct your attention to the fact that raykom plenums or buro meetings, during which a discussion of specific ways to fulfill the proposals that had arrived during the reporting and election campaign occurred, were held in practically every rayon after the conference. The fact that plenums or buro meetings were held is not important; the approach to the implementation of everything that the communists noted and recommended, is important. I have information on the plenums of the Baumanskiy and Proletarskiy CPSU raykoms. They familiarized their participants in a timely fashion with the draft plans for measures, and the members of the raykoms were able to delve more thoroughly into the essence of the questions raised during the conferences and to express quite a few useful suggestions on these drafts. The CPSU raykom commissions, which were formed during the conferences, have been included in the work—the practical implementation and monitoring of their fulfillment have been placed on these commissions.



[Correspondent] Generally speaking, a creative approach to such a difficult and important task as the converting of proposals into fact is an interesting sign of the times. It seems that party committees have completely moved away from perceiving the work to implement them as some kind of burden—a "responsibility."

[Nemtinov] A new approach toward the implementation of critical comments and proposals is characteristic not only of raykoms but also of primary party organizations. In particular, we explain the fact that half of the proposals that arrived were implemented even before the conclusion of the meetings in the primary party organizations—this is almost 10 percent more than during the 1985 reporting and election campaign—by this. Although it is impossible to disregard this situation: the questions touched upon were closer to the people's needs and interests and the proposals submitted were noted for their great realism. For example, the workshop party organizations in the Chemical Plant imeni Voykov suggested that the party committee take the organizing of ecologically clean production processes under its control. A number of harmful products have been sent outside the factory limits to date. Dust collectors are being installed under the party committee's control in newly built workshops. Or: in the party organization of the Moskabelsetmontazh Trust, the party committee was criticized for its unsatisfactory political and indoctrinational work on communal housing. At the end of 1988, the party committee and the trust's trade union committee and administration organized and conducted elections for a communal housing council, special interest clubs were established, and spot-checks to strengthen discipline and order became standard.... Concerning a creative approach to working with comments and proposals in primary party organizations, the experience of the Moscow Searchlight Plant, for example, is interesting. There, eight working groups (according to work avenues) have been established to develop a plan and measures for monitoring the implementation of critical comments and proposals. The communists' proposals and comments and the measures to implement them are published in the factory newspaper. Here, they plan to illuminate the progress in this work constantly.

[Correspondent] From the information published about the party gorkom buro meeting, we know that 581 of the 4,000 critical comments and proposals, which were expressed during the rayon party conferences, have been implemented. A total of 2,532 have been taken into consideration in the plans for measures and are in the implementation stage. However, the following figure has also been mentioned: It does not seem possible at the present time to implement 467 comments and proposals. It is understandable that it is difficult to point out the reasons in a brief communication. However, there will probably be such questions.

[Nemtinov] Unfortunately, I do not have the list on hand. However, we can look at another one—addressed to the CPSU Moscow Gorkom. I would like to point out

immediately that a careful explanation has been given or will be given to the authors of the comments and proposals regarding the problems raised at the rayon and city level. This has already been stated in the appropriate documents and will be strictly monitored. A large portion of the submitted proposals has been reflected in the Progress-95 program.

What must be understood by the phrase: "realization does not seem possible?" The fact is that a whole series of question are simply outside the gorkom's competency. It is impossible to carry out some proposals because of the required base is absent. For example, the question of organizing rayon newspapers was raised during many conferences. There is probably no need to explain why this is not now being done.

The impression can arise that the city committee is refusing to have anything to do—under the pretext that "it is not mine"—with proposals having great importance for the city's development and the solution of many of its most urgent problems; however, as they say, they are passing "through another department." This is not so. We are planning to submit to the plenum two lists of comments and proposals expressed during the 27th city party conference directed toward the central agencies, ministries and departments as well as the Moscow gorispolkom. After the plenum's approval, the documents will be sent to specific addressees for the solving of the questions raised. It is planned to place the monitoring of their fulfillment on the Moscow Gorkom commissions and party gorkom departments.

In a word, quite a bit of work lies ahead—work that is very critical. You will agree that the communist's initiative, which has been displayed in the present reports and elections, was caused a great deal by the fact that the capital's party organization has implemented the critical comments and proposals expressed during the previous campaign. We have also paid attention to the following item: The activity and the personal criticism of the party organization secretaries and communist leaders have forced many to regard the state of affairs in the collectives in a new way and to approach the elimination of shortcomings more responsibly. This cannot fail to make one happy. However it also obliges us to look more intently at everything that was discussed during the meetings and conferences and, of course, to exercise especially careful monitoring over the implementation of the comments and proposals expressed. I think that tomorrow's CPSU Moscow Gorkom plenum will be guided by this attitude.

[Correspondent] Thank you, Anatoliy Yakovlevich, for the conversation. On our part, we are reporting that the MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA newspaper will also continuously illuminate and monitor all of the work connected with implementing critical comments and proposals.

**First Secretary Solovyev Leningrad Obkom 10 March Plenum Speech**  
*18000724 Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 11 Mar 89 pp 1,2*

[Text of speech: "Address of Yu. F. Solovyev"]

[Text] In accordance with decisions of the 28th conference of the oblast party organization, the present plenum is examining questions of prime importance which derive from the directives of the CPSU Central Committee. Essentially, what we are talking about is how to ignite at full power the potentials of party organizations and soviet and economic organs, as well as of every party member and non-member, in the struggle for dynamic progress along the path to the transformations stipulated by the CPSU.

The four years that have passed since the April (1985) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, their experience, have armed the party and the entire people with a carefully developed and considered program of action which has served as the basis for the CPSU political platform for the forthcoming elections of USSR peoples deputies. This has found the very widest support of the working class, of the intelligentsia, and of representatives of science and culture in Leningrad and in the oblast.

Restructuring has stirred up the initiative of social organizations and of the most varied strata of the population. This is also testified to by the fundamentally new political background against which the election campaign is being conducted, one which is distinguished by democracy and glasnost and the enormous interest of the working people in nominating as candidates the most worthy and most active supporters of restructuring.

Positive shifts are becoming stronger in the economic sector, where intensive growth factors and tendencies toward improved health of the economic mechanism as a whole are playing an increasing role. The economy to an every increasing degree is addressing the needs and requirements of the individual, is acquiring a social orientation. These conclusions are supported by the work results of the region's national economic complex both last year and since the beginning of the present one.

At the same time, the past four years have sharply revealed those complex, contradictory processes which inevitably arise at a sharp turning point in social development.

Thus, introduction of the principles of cost accounting and self-financing in material production sectors has revealed the inability of a part of the economic cadres to make effective use of the advantages they have. The efforts of collectives in the direction of initiative and self-reliance are often being stymied by administrative and departmental obstacles. Or, finally, problems of

unbalance in the market, of shortages of a number of goods, of low quality of many manufactured products, of increased prices, and of a worsening economic situation leave nobody indifferent.

All this again and again confirms the conclusion of the January 1989 CPSU Central Committee Plenum concerning the insistent necessity of a sharp shift in the center of balance toward practical efforts aimed at carrying out policies that have been developed and decisions that have been made.

The initiative in this enormously significant and conceptually innovative matter remains with the party organizations, which have now been freed of functions that are not natural to them and are acquiring experience in political leadership.

These positive trends have been strengthened since the hearing of reports and the holding of elections in party organizations, which contributed to democratization of party life, to improvement in the style and content of the activities of party committees, and to the nomination of principled and demanding Communists to elective organs.

Today, it is necessary to help these new additions to our corps of personnel to get on their feet, to demonstrate in the fullest degree their creative potentials for the good of society. The oblast party committee commission for party organization and personnel work must also devote its most intensive attention to this aspect.

Collective thought and collective development of decisions—this is what forms the qualitatively new atmosphere in the party environment today. The establishment of commissions dealing with specific lines is making it possible to actively involve practically all members of elective organs in our work, to bring mutual relationships between the party apparatus and its activists into agreement with the demands of the times.

At the city and rayon party committee plenums that have been held, such commissions have been established basically for the three main directions involved in solving problems of party organization and personnel, ideological activity, and social and economic development.

The most important problem here is to define the content of the work of these new collegial organs. The purview of oblast, city, and rayon party committee commissions must include the key problems of restructuring, those which require particularly intensive analysis and a search for non-standard and highly effective paths for their solution.

Clearly, we should pay close attention to the early experience which has already appeared in this direction, correlating it with the real results of the work of commissions in local areas.

Development of the principle of collegiality of leadership envisages the highest degree of responsibility on the part of party members and of all categories of personnel for executing the course of restructuring. Taking account of this indisputable requirement, as comrade A. M. Fateyev has reported, a list of assignments has been formulated and submitted for the plenum's consideration.

What is being said is that strict personal demands need to be made of every party member for the sectors that have been assigned to them, for the course of fulfilling their assignments. An objective political assessment must be made of what has been accomplished—one based on substance and not on the quantity of measures that are carried out.

It is first of all the primary party organizations that are called upon to set an example of such an exacting and demanding approach to the achievement of specific results.

Along with the positive direction of the changes that are taking place in their activities, with their real closer relationship to peoples' cares and needs, we also must not overlook a number of serious shortcomings.

A certain part of the party organizations, as formerly, are distancing themselves from the gathering force of the dynamic processes of democratization and glasnost. Such a situation is having the result that some members of the party are demonstrating a lack of precision in their positions and, as a consequence, are making mistakes in their evaluation of the political situation and are inclined to make concessions to various kinds of demagogues and extremists.

This circumstance, and also the fact that complacency and passivity prevail among another segment of the CPSU members, plays into the hands of those who, taking advantage of existing difficulties, are trying to destabilize the situation, to push the party organizations out of leading positions in restructuring.

Not long ago, the oblast party committee buro adopted a resolution on the holding of meetings within each primary party organization to examine problems of increasing the political responsibility of party members for realizing the party's course toward restructuring.

An absolute majority of party members greeted this decision with approval. However, some have seen it as an attempt to "tighten the screws" and as practically a return to unpleasant memories of former times.

What answer can be given to this? There can be no talk of any kind of move to back away from glasnost and pluralism of views. The question is one about the position of party members in the diverse processes that are taking place in our society, about the requirements which stem from the CPSU Charter and recent party decisions.

It is important to prepare these meetings thoroughly, on the basis of democratic approaches and with the participation of trade union and Komsomol activists, the councils of labor collectives, and nonparty members.

In this extraordinarily responsible period, paramount importance attaches to the question of increasing the party's influence on the formation of public opinion, to reliance of party organizations on people's suggestions and comments, to their initiative and social activeness.

Analysis of the letters and petitions from inhabitants of Leningrad which arrive in the oblast party committee show with complete clarity that we still have much to do in order to master the art of argumentative persuasion, of working out the best kind of mechanism for reaching decisions on various levels after their preliminary broad public discussion.

Of course, things aren't standing still here. The oblast committee, for example, has experience in holding buro sessions in which representatives of the creative intelligentsia and the public have taken part. This experience should be further generalized and developed.

Three secretaries of oblast, city and rayon committees and the workers of the party apparatus have begun to meet much more frequently with labor collectives and with the population at their places of residence and to take to them the position of party organs with regard to the most pressing problems of political and socioeconomic life.

A Leningrad center for study of public opinion has been established.

However, practice shows that this turns out not to be enough. People are coming to us again and again wanting to learn the opinion of the oblast party committee with regard to questions, explanations for which have already been given repeatedly. This relates in particular to the ecological situation in connection with the construction of installations to protect Leningrad from floods, to the course of carrying out the food and housing programs, to problems connected with the necessity of reducing the number of workers, employees and students who are being recruited to work in the fields of the sovkhozes and the food and vegetable bases, to questions of the development of the cooperative movement and many others.

Such a situation testifies that a part of the population is insufficiently informed about the work that is being carried out by the Leningrad party organization and which, according to our calculations, will make possible serious progress in the solution of a number of pressing social problems even by the end of the five-year plan. This is one aspect. Another is that many Leningraders still do not have a clear idea of how, in practice, their opinions are being taken into consideration in the process of formulating basic political and economic decisions.

It is completely clear that the system for studying, recording, and forming the opinion of the working people is in need of improvement. In this connection, it would seem that the ideological and other commissions of the oblast party committee and the working groups that are engaged in the preparation of one or another question must necessarily include people who are involved deeply, substantively, and in all aspects of this most important side of the matter.

I particularly would like to dwell on the role of the mass information media in the development of a constructive public position. In the course of restructuring, it has become very clear what a powerful and, at the same time, double-edged weapon the word—circulated in hundreds of thousands of newspaper columns, resounding from the screens of television sets, and transmitted by radio—is becoming.

It is all the more obvious that this instrument of democratization and glasnost must be used with great responsibility and with a high degree of competence.

As a whole, the Leningrad press, television, and radio occupy constructive positions. Thus, a recent television show that told about discussion at the Leningrad Metal Plant association of the rather controversial television film "A Fateful Letter" [Rokovoye pismo] produced a broad public reaction, a clash of viewpoints regarding pressing problems regarding the place of the working class in restructuring, the necessity of consolidating social forces. It clearly demonstrated how important it is for journalists to keep council with the broad public in order to penetrate seriously into the problems of life of labor collectives.

However, there are also examples of an entirely different kind. Superficial political conclusions, tactlessness, and sometimes openly demagogic phenomena are not absent from certain publications in the press and television and radio programs. And references to pluralism of opinions and freedom of expression are being advanced as arguments.

We hold these concepts truly dear and value them as enormous achievements of the course set in April. But people will not understand and will not support attempts to dilute the values of socialism, to counterpoise somebody's mercenary and egoistic strivings to the interests of society as a whole.

What should we do, take stiff measures against the mass information media, as many demand, introduce order by means of forceful pressure, by yelling?

I will say unambiguously that such a path is unacceptable. It contradicts the spirit and essence of those favorable processes which are occurring in the country. I see a different solution—constructive, competent mutual relationships between party committees and editorial collectives.

The braking processes in certain areas of ideological support for restructuring, about which a principled discussion took place a year ago at a plenum of the oblast party committee, cannot be separated from those factors which are braking progress in the economy and the social sphere.

One of them is that, as a result of reorganization of the party apparatus at various levels, old methods of administrative pressure are being relegated to the achieves but the soviets still are not prepared to take upon themselves the plenitude of economic concerns.

But there are also other ones—a certain timidity and inconsistency, as well as a deep-seated reliance on directions and instructions from above and a desire to seize upon all problems at once—which are being manifested in the new conditions. It is necessary for local party organs to be freed from such mistakes of the past as quickly as possible.

They must have within their purview not only questions that relate to the preparation and development of decisions, but necessarily also continuous supervision, checking on the implementation of plans, and carrying what has been begun to its logical conclusion.

The oblast party committee is devoting intense attention to the progress being made in carrying out important practical measures in priority directions within the social sphere, above all such ones as accelerated fulfillment of the goals of the food and housing programs and saturation of the consumer market with goods and services.

As is known, the potentials of the machine building and defense sectors have been mobilized to equip the sovkhozes of the oblast with a highly effective complex of equipment units, which will ensure a transition to intensive technologies in the cultivation of vegetables and potatoes and in retooling the food industry. The collectives of a majority of enterprises have accepted such orders as important party directives and have taken a fully responsible attitude toward their fulfillment. It is believed that the assigned task will be solved as early as within a year or two.

In the future as well, efforts aimed at more fully satisfying the needs of the population for food products of suitable quality and necessary variety will grow.

In the very near future this problem, as you know, will be at the center of attention of the next CPSU Central Committee plenum. The oblast party committee also intends to return to its examination.

A broad arsenal of means has been activated in order to overcome shortages in a number of non-food products and to develop the services industry.

These have to do with measures for increasing the production of products necessary to people by increasing the interest of labor collectives in resolution of this problem, by the development of cooperative forms, and by the creation of joint enterprises with foreign partners. And to not a small degree—by strict observance of the principle of social justice in the distribution of material wealth.

The oblast party committee has repeatedly pointed out to the directors of the main administrations for trade and public catering of the Leningrad city and oblast executive committees, comrades A.P. Zlobin, A.A. Tomashevich, and N.N. Antonov, the necessity of decisively bringing order to the provision of public services and to a multitude of violations and malpractices. However, this has resulted in insignificant moves which cannot basically change the unfavorable situation in these areas.

Checks carried out by workers' control during the past two months alone have uncovered hundreds of violations of the rules of trade. Measures of administrative and social influence have been taken with respect to many shop workers.

In this situation, it is clearly appropriate to speak about the fact that party-member directors in the sphere of services and at a number of enterprises within the system are not coping with their obligations and have not come to realize the degree of their own responsibility for the matter assigned. They also have no proposals with regard to the utilization of economic levers to create a mechanism of incentives for the fullest possible satisfaction of the needs of the population for goods and services.

Today a special demand is placed on communists—without allowances, without references to objective and subjective reasons. The time of promises has passed. People place value only on concrete, tangible results, high-quality goods physically present on store shelves which guarantee a high level of service, uninterrupted operation of urban transport, solution of ecological and other social problems.

From this point of view, a session of the oblast party committee buro recently examined reports by the party-member directors of the construction complex and the chiefs of the Leningrad City Executive Committee main administrations for Capital Construction [GlavUKS], A. N. Alfimov, and for Housing, Civil and Industrial Construction [Glavleningradstroy], Yu. R. Kozhukhovskiy, about work connected with realization of the program "Leningrad. Housing—2000."

The oblast committee is systematically and purposefully readdressing this most important political problem. It must be directly stated that we are not satisfied with the speed with which the housing problem is being solved, with the level of coordination of the efforts of construction organizations, or with the of implementation of new

approaches to the utilization of existing reserves on the part of the Leningrad Soviet Executive Committee and its administrations and services.

In order to fulfill the housing program it is necessary to begin construction of more than 40,000 apartments annually, which is considerably higher than the level achieved in 1988. However, as shown by an analysis that has been made, conditions for such a swift surge exist.

It is a matter of initiative, persistence and the rapid activation of all available reserves. And here the party committees and party organizations are obligated to put in their authoritative word. The oblast party committee commission for questions of social and economic development should also make a perceptible contribution to this work.

The present year is replete with important political events in the life of our party and the Soviet people. Already in the very near future a CPSU Central Committee plenum will be held on high-priority questions of restructuring.

The working people of Leningrad and the oblast, together with the entire country, are actively making preparations for the upcoming elections, in two weeks, to the congress of USSR peoples deputies planned for April.

In the time remaining, on the basis of the party's pre-election platform and in strict accordance with legislation and in close contact with local soviet organs, city and rayon party committees and party organizations will have to carry out a great deal of organizational and political work to generalize the mandates of the Leningraders and to create conditions for broad and interested participation by the population in the election.

In these March days, party organizations and party members will be taking an important political examination, the lessons for which must be learned in the course of preparations for the elections to republic and local soviets.

This year is also of fundamental importance for completing final work on the economic mechanism, on the principles of territorial economic accountability, on restructuring management organizational structures, and on implementing the program for restoring health to the financial activities of the enterprises.

The question with regard to unprofitable enterprises is a particularly sharp one. Within a condensed period of time and in close contact with interested departments and with the banks, it is necessary to implement programs for overcoming their unprofitability, for changing over to their lease to collectives.

The law on local self-management and the local economy, which is now being drafted, should have a distinct influence on strengthening the legal and the material and technical base of the soviets of peoples deputies. Undoubtedly, it will make it possible to establish in practice the role of the organs of popular power as the fully-empowered masters of the territories that are subordinate to them.

But it is necessary to prepare for this even today, by consistently carrying out measures to perfect management structures.

The Leningrad City Executive Committee has created a territorial intersectoral production administration as the organ for practical direction of the national economy of the city and for coordination of the activities of all enterprises located within its territory.

Besides this, it is planned within the very near future to establish within Leningrad a construction committee, which will make it possible to ensure effective interaction between all the basic units and organizations of the construction complex and to introduce order into its activities.

These steps appear important and timely. At the same time, they should not cause those, at first glance, ordinary economic and current problems that Leningraders run into every day to be pushed into the background of the work of soviet organs.

The pre-election gatherings in election districts and the meetings of USSR peoples deputy candidates with the voters have revealed with total clarity the fact that, specifically here, the local soviets are not doing enough work and this is provoking a sharply negative reaction on the part of people.

I am talking about the fact that, frequently, plans for the location of stores and for the movement of passenger transportation are not thought out, that municipal services are functioning in what is called a slipshod manner. Sometimes there is simply not enough concern, enough attention toward people on the part of executive committee workers. It is time finally to sharply shift the work of soviet organs toward the pressing needs of the individual.

In this connection, we also should persistently seek to improve the system of interaction with the apparatus of the Leningrad city party committee in the aim of eliminating elements of duplication in our work. Obviously, the efforts of the city committee should to a large extent concentrate on questions of the direction of party organizations connected with Leningrad's public sphere, on the solution of those problems which agitate its residents on a daily basis. In turn, the activities of the oblast party committee should be constantly oriented toward the prospects of developing the region, toward deep-going

analysis of the political and socioeconomic processes that are taking place within it, and to giving them a constructive and creative direction.

We have before us intensive and responsible work in carrying out the tasks of political and economic reform, of more significant transformations in all sectors of social and economic development. So that they produce sound, visible results, it is necessary to unite, to consolidate the forces of society, to lead them.

Restructuring will emerge victorious if party organizations and party members are able to show themselves to be a militant political vanguard. Restructuring will win out if the program for its realization, set by the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th All-Union Party Conference becomes a vital cause for everyone and for every body.

#### **Alma-Ata Voters Polled on Pre-Election Campaign**

18300514 Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA  
in Russian 19 Mar 89 p 2

[Article under "Public Opinion" rubric: "Elections from the Voters' Point of View"; first paragraph is KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] On the eve of the elections for USSR people's deputies the Republic Center for the Study of Public Opinion conducted a poll of Alma-Ata voters.

The sociologists were interested in the citizens' attitudes towards a number of fundamental questions regarding the new electoral system—towards the possibility of a genuine election, the competitiveness of the candidates for the office of deputy, and the diversity of their pre-election platforms. It was important to determine how ready the voter was to make a consciously aware, democratic choice of deputies. The poll was conducted in March, at a time when the pre-election campaign had already reached its peak. Approximately 1,000 citizens of Alma-Ata were polled.

One clear result of the poll was that the preparations for the elections exerted a noticeable influence on the sociopolitical situation in this city. The voters became more active, more interested and motivated, and gradually found a depth of knowledge and a breadth of horizon. It became clear that only 7 percent of the voters polled were not interested in sociopolitical life.

What kind of person do the voters want to see as their elected representative? Advancing to the foreground here are the candidate's personal and businesslike qualities rather than "paper qualifications." Thus, 58 percent of the voters declared that for them the main thing was the candidate's social activism, his capacity to implement his program. The closeness of his platform to their

own views attracted 21 percent of those polled. Duties and place of employment were of concern to 7 percent, and nationality—to only 1 percent.

At meetings with candidates nowadays a motivated dialogue between the two sides takes place. What wishes and desires do the voters express? As had to be expected, people still have quite unclear notions about the forthcoming activity of the deputies in this country's highest organ of state power. And this is understandable, inasmuch as this work lies ahead of us. Therefore, the wishes expressed are general in their nature: be close to the people—more than 47 percent, carry out their own programs—more than 21 percent, promise less and do more—more than 12 percent, be honest and bold—more than 10 percent.

The voters' personal experience in life was also expressed in their evaluation of the level of democratization in the present elections. Persons of the older generation have something to compare these elections with, and, therefore, 62 percent of the voters over the age of 60 consider the present elections to be useful, interesting, and democratic. Voters less than 50 years old have a somewhat different opinion—only 33 percent are satisfied with the level of democracy in these elections. But among the youngest voters—those less than 24 years old—for whom all this is brand new, more than 40 percent express the opinion that these elections are democratic.

The poll has provided an extremely important evaluation of mass-political work during the days of the pre-election campaign, as well as the public's level of information about its progress. The results here are quite unsatisfactory; in our opinion, however, this data can provide food for thought to activists engaged in ideological work, and to the leaders of agitational collectives.

The following conclusion is particularly alarming: 69 percent of the voters polled did not know for whom they were going to vote in their own election district [precinct]. Evident here are the miscalculations on the part of the officials in charge.

The worst bottleneck [least successful section] in mass-agitational work turned out to be people's places of residence. Most of all among those persons polled acquired information about the course of the election campaign from reports in the press, 10 percent—from posters and leaflets, 9 percent—from television broadcasts, 8 percent from assemblies and various types of meetings at work, 8 percent from radio broadcasts, and only 3 percent—from the persons in charge. Four percent of those polled did not specify their sources of information. It is difficult to judge whether these sources were conversations at home or at district-level public

councils, etc. But it is symptomatic that nobody named as the source of their information agitators or meetings at agitation points or agitation centers.

It is also natural [in conformity with principle] that only 8 percent of those polled were satisfied with the level of their own information, 7 percent were well-acquainted with the election program of one of the alternative candidates, and 5 percent were informed about the other candidate's platform.

The lack of a differentiated approach to explanatory work and insufficient attention paid to young voters, especially to those who will be voting for the first time, is attested by such data as the following: 83 percent of youths under the age of 20 are the least informed about the course of the pre-election campaign. Only 28 percent of the women turned out to be up on current events. Among men, who are less burdened with housework, this indicator is higher—amounting to 35 percent.

There is a direct ratio [correlation] between the voters' level of information and their level of education. Thus, whereas among persons with a higher education 58 percent do not know their own candidates (which, of course, is a great deal), among those polled who had a secondary or lower education the level of those with a lack of such knowledge was extremely high—amounting to 90 percent.

Of course, most voters were not satisfied with their own level of information. But, what, in their opinion, must be done so that each of us may become well-oriented in pre-election matters? More than 40 percent of those polled thought that, in order to raise the level of information, we need to hold additional meetings between the candidates for deputy and the people, primarily at the latter's places of residence; 25 percent suggested that we should write in greater detail about the candidates in the press, 22 percent expected active work from television, 9 percent pinned their hopes on radio, and 7 percent were counting on other forms of information.

Despite the fact that only a week remains before the elections, a great deal can still be done. In particular, we must concentrate all our work in the mass-housing complexes and inform every inhabitant about the results of the pre-election campaign. It is far from being a purely formal matter—acquainting the citizens with voters' registration lists and the final checkup on the readiness of the electoral districts [voting precincts] to conduct the elections. In this connection, much will depend upon the unwavering fulfillment by the sectional commissions of the procedural norms provided for by the Law on Elections. It is important to equip the rooms for secret balloting in precise conformity with the legislative norms.

And, of course, data from this poll will be of help in the future, when elections are held for the local Soviets of People's Deputies.

**Mazurov Interviewed on Party Work under Former Leaders**

*18300408 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 19 Feb 89 pp 3-4*

[Interview with CPSU Central Committee Politburo member Kirill Trofimovich Mazurov by Tatyana Bondarenko: "I Am Not Only Talking About Myself"; For May 1988 Mazurov interview, see JPRS-UPA-88-047, pp 44-50]

[Excerpts] Kirill Trofimovich Mazurov has been nominated as a candidate USSR peoples deputy from the All-Union Organization of War and Labor Veterans. And according to the tradition that has been introduced at our newspaper, in order to better present the candidate to our readers, we ought to tell about him in a Leninist questionnaire, presenting in print the main theses of his pre-election program. But this time we are dealing with a special case. K.T. Mazurov has for many years been among the very highest ranking leaders in the party and government. His thoughts and observations are of enormous interest as a stratum of social and political experience, as living witness to the sharp historical turns made by the ship of state along the way to establishing socialism in our country. K.T. Mazurov has been at the epicenter of our most important historical events. In the years of the Great Patriotic War, he participated directly in developing the partisan movement developed in Belorussia. This was an important contribution to victory. After the war Kirill Trofimovich was again on the front lines—the republic's cities, which had been practically wiped from the face of the earth, were rising again from the ruins. In later years, together with A.N. Kosygin, he worked to restore the economy. Therefore, we are giving K.T. Mazurov the chance to speak for himself.

Nevertheless, we can not do without a brief biographical summary. Here is what the Great Soviet Encyclopedia writes about K.T. Mazurov: born in 1914 into a peasant family. Completed road construction technical school, The Higher Party School under the All-Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik) Central Committee [VPSH pri TsK VKP(b)]. Worked as a technician, chief of a rayon road department. In 1940-1941—secretary of the Gomel city committee of the Belorussian Komsomol, participant in the Great Patriotic War, was wounded. Worked at the rear of fascist German troops in large partisan units in Belorussia as a representative of the Central Staff of the partisan movement. Was secretary of the underground Belorussian Komsomol Central Committee. In 1943-47 second and later first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee. In 1956-1965—first secretary of the Belorussian CP Central Committee. From March 1965—first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. From 1957—candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Presidium, from 1965—member CPSU Central Committee Presidium, from April 1966—member CPSU Central Committee Politburo. Recipient of numerous awards, Hero of Socialist Labor.

**While a member of the Politburo in 1978, to the surprise of many, he unexpectedly retired...**

We met with this man, first dryly official and later lively when, while speaking through a flood of memories and of agitated thoughts about the present day, a disarmingly warm smile suddenly broke through the restraints of protocol, in the small office of the chairman of the All-Union Council of War and Labor Veterans on Ulitsa Shepkina. Our first question, of course, concerned the platform which the fraction of veterans intends to present in the country's future parliament.

[Mazurov] For a start, I would like to say that the 19th All-Union Party Conference, in my view, acted in a timely way to correct a disbalance that has had the result that veterans, as a generation, have for many years been excluded from public life. This problem has been solved in a principled way: All public organizations are to find a place within the new political system, including the All-Union Organization of War and Labor Veterans. At the plenum where our candidates were nominated, we already discussed in part our program and, in the future, during the elections themselves, further additions will of course be made to it by the candidates.

The main thing that we want to do is support the Party's course toward all-round restructuring of the economy and of spiritual life... There are tens of millions of veterans in the country, and these are people who have a great deal of experience in life, people who have built socialism in our country but frequently have not even received minimum compensation from society for their labors. These are people who suffered from the deprivations, the hunger and the repressions of the Stalin times, from the administrative-command system which reigned here, with us, for many years after the death of Lenin. And their experience, I would say, is a golden fund for our people.

I think it is especially instructive particularly now, when society has been awakened, worked up, and when interesting processes are occurring which are very necessary for our society and which represent not only our own interests but also the views of the people as a whole, of the country, concerning these problems and the paths of our development. Such a movement, to be sure, produces both pluses and minuses. There are cross currents; there are conservative elements and there are also elements of extremism; demands are even creeping in for a convergence of socialism and capitalism which, in essence, would mean a retreat from socialism. This the veterans cannot accept. And I think that, as a whole, the Party also cannot accept such a line.

[Bondarenko] Kirill Trofimovich, what in your view is the nature of these extremes—all the ones that you are talking about: conservative, and extremist, and reformist of various hues?



[Mazurov] I would say that there are several factors at play here. One of the main ones is the fact that our society for too long was a closed one. Take only the most active part of it today—the generation which came along even after the war, the so called children of the sixties. Indeed, all the years that they were growing up they received, if it can be put this way, a very poor ideological and theoretical ration. Certain works of Lenin were not published and this means that nobody read them; scholars were not seriously occupied with the theoretical constructs of building a new society. Having rejected the "Short Course," this generation did not read anything new. Interest began to weaken both in theory and in history—the real, painful history of the people. At the same time, they built up a sharp need to somehow speak out, to express themselves in politics, and not only in the economy, labor, or study. And so these moods have now spilled over.

[Bondarenko] You said "a closed society." What, in your opinion, dictated the choice of this particular model of existence?

[Mazurov] I would say that this developed from the very beginning. As a result of the class struggle after the October Revolution, in the civil war, in the era of War Communism. Even to a greater extent, this comes from War Communism. What can I say about our old comrades if even I, while still a member of the Komsomol, proclaimed slogans about world revolution at Komsomol meetings?!

[Bondarenko] You want to say that such a global goal required total concentration, unity, organization, and sacrifice, when the personal point of view had to be suppressed...

[Mazurov] Yes, and here already it was all for one, a unified effort... And, of course, such a person as Stalin made use of this for his own purposes.

In general, I would suggest today that we not look upon the figure of Stalin in isolation from the historical context. Not in order to justify him, but so as to better understand why a great many people in local areas so willingly, I would say, even zealously, put his decisions into practice. Take, for example, such a dramatic page as the surplus appropriation system. The NEP caused trade and small-scale enterprise to flourish and the peasants began to live better. But, as formerly, things were very difficult for the workers. Frequently, they had no bread on their tables. Their dissatisfaction grew. This was fanned by unemployment. I personally had two brothers who were out of work; they went to Siberia to seek happiness. So that the Stalinist reforms of 1929-1930, painful though it may be, corresponded to the moods of the workers. The workers felt: Let us lean on those who are hiding the bread, and then we will begin to see some. And we cannot ignore the fact that, at this time, those who united around Stalin were precisely the ones who

stood closest to the working class—Ordzhonikidze, Kuybyshev, Kirov, and so on. People frequently ask now whether there was an alternative to this anti-peasant policy. Of course, as we now understand, there was. But under another leadership make-up. The problem was intensified by industrialization at the expense of the peasantry, at a tempo which turned out to be back-breaking for the people. There were no loans—where was it to come from? Again, the peasants. They took everything they could from them. Here there is a tangled knot of varied contradictions, of reasons and consequences so serious that it is very difficult to cut it all apart right away.

It must be said that our historical science has up until now been marking time in the same place. There are no thorough studies. It is true that certain works, individual articles have appeared, from which it is evident that it is not so simple to explain the rise of administrative-command forces solely by the personality of Stalin. What happened here, in my view, was a convergence of his personal qualities, of his personal experience in the struggle against deviations both during the period of preparing the October Revolution, and during the civil war, and afterwards, with the situation in the country and in the world.

[Bondarenko] Does the conclusion follow from this that such a period was inevitable in our history?

[Mazurov] No. But a combination of factors developed which led to this. Clearly, only Lenin could have led the way out in this situation, with his great authority, both domestic and international. He was a true leader. Stalin, however, did not have international authority, and this produces, as it were, a reverse reaction: For the highest authority, he began to look only to himself. [Portion omitted]

[Bondarenko] How was the figure of Beriia accepted in Party circles in these years?

[Mazurov] He was not considered a strong figure then. I never saw him. It is true that, during the war, we were unhappy with his activities, because he wanted to use every means to suppress the partisan movement, to turn it into diversionary detachments subordinate to the NKVD.

But, at some moment, it became obvious that Beriia was enjoying unlimited power. I personally noticed this by the fact that our Belorussian leaders were "bowing and scraping" before him and his righthand men. In our republic he had his so-called Belorussian channel—the Minister of Internal Affairs, Tsanava, a dirty individual. They shot him even before Beriia was condemned. So, in Belorussia, they feared this official even more than the First Secretary. We knew that Tsanava was capable of anything. We had, for example, a national hero, Sergey Prityskiy, who before the liberation of western Belorussia was a member of its Communist Party and who,

when they were trying Communists there, shot at a provocateur right in the courtroom in Vilnius. They sentenced him to death. Then, under pressure from the Comintern, the International Organization for Help to the Fighters of the Revolution [MOPR], a movement in Europe, the Polish authorities were forced to lighten his punishment and he was sentenced to life imprisonment. After the liberation, we began to involve Pritytskiy, as one of the leaders of western Belorussia, into active activity. But for some reason Tsanava didn't like him. The case was presented that since his father was in Poland, that is, on the other side, that Pritytskiy himself had "foreign ties." But Pritytskiy succeeded in surviving.

... At the end of the 1940's and the beginning of the 1950's, the department headed by Beriya and his people had great power. I remember how impressed I was in 1948 by the arrival of Kobulov, Beriya's deputy. He was accompanied by a crowd of stooges. It all looked as if a person of great honor in our country had come. A performance was given in the theater and the instruction came down that all active workers were to be at this performance, because Comrade Kobulov would be there. And we, the active workers, went. Even within the milieu of the Party we often were turned into courtiers. This happened to everyone in his own way but they taught us, it must be said, diligently. I recall the following instance. I had been chosen secretary of the city Party committee and a holiday came, the anniversary of the October Revolution. We were having a ceremonial meeting and it was necessary to send out invitations. The head of the organizational department came to me: How should the tickets be written out; always before, he said, they had first been written out for the leaders and then for everyone else. I said: Write them out alphabetically. And Tsanava got a ticket somewhere after number 600. The next day the telephone rang: What have you sent me? What kind of number have I read on this ticket? I answered that I was not usually in the habit of looking at the number.

Approximately an hour later, Gusarov, the first secretary of the CP Central Committee, called me to a meeting of the buro. I went. The members of the buro had already gathered and Tsanava was there. They began to chew me out: You, young man, what have you permitted yourself to do? What kind of ticket did you send Tsanava? He is a member of our buro. Why did you send him number 600? I was expecting a strict reprimand, but some of the members of the buro retreated: He is a young secretary, he will learn...

Then, when they called Tsanava to Moscow to work in the ministry, the leadership went with him in the train, accompanying him to Orsha. This is how it looked close up, the administrative-command system.

[Bondarenko] Judging from what you have said, It didn't have any fighters in it then?

[Mazurov] I don't want to create this impression. There have always been honest, strong people in the Party.

Here is one case. Somewhere in 1953, Beriya suddenly became concerned about promotions of local national cadres. He prepared a list: seemingly in Belorussia there were too many Russians (even before the war a very large number of Russians worked in leadership posts here and the war further decimated personnel, so the Belorussians themselves asked for help). And the Presidium immediately passed a decision—to relieve Patolichev of his duties as first secretary. Another comrade had already arrived to take his place. But, indeed, there was a requirement to run the decision through a plenum. They called us together. And all of us, the secretaries—Belorussians and Russians—were in disagreement; we came out against this resolution of the Presidium... The debates were heated: The decision is wrong and it should be rescinded. Late in the evening, this comrade phoned Khrushchev and told him about everything... And in the morning they called us together and told us that the decree of the Central Committee Presidium had been rescinded.

[Bondarenko] Probably, this instance already signified a new time?

[Mazurov] For me, on a personal plane. That same summer, in 1953, they appointed me chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers. I saw Khrushchev for the first time in the beginning of September 1953 at a conference in Leningrad. He gave a speech at that time which pleased all of us very much. He spoke about painful things. About the fact that our agriculture was dragging out a miserable existence, that it is necessary to set the peasants free, to abolish taxes... And then he put forward a program for the production of meat and milk. True, when he spoke about the need to catch up to America, things my eyes clouded over. I had, after all, read what America is and I knew how things stood with us. But I consoled myself with the fact that this was only a slogan. And, afterwards, everyone said that this was a slogan that was necessary so as to consolidate the people behind this idea.

And then they chose me first secretary in the republic. Various correct decisions began to be made in agrarian policy and changes appeared in the country. And after the 20th Congress, also in Party policy, in science, culture, art, etc.

In my mind, there exist two Khrushchevs.

One is a reformer, in the good sense of this word, who led to a new policy, to new working methods in party organizations. And then, after the 22nd Congress, somebody seemed to take his place. Whether he came to believe in our Program, which said that in the 1980's we will already be living under Communism, or whether it was somebody's influence... And the second Khrushchev, in my impression, was a kind of folk-tale hero. Do

you recall how the bear decided to make a bow? He used up all the forest, but did not bend a bow. Khrushchev worked a great deal. I remember that he phoned me in Belorussia almost every week, and not just me... He frequently called me on the carpet, but almost always concerning economic matters. No political questions. Ideology was secondary with him. In a small circle he used to talk about propagandists, that they are do-nothings, hangers-on, that they aren't needed by the people, that what the people need is gulash. This was his word—gulash.

[Bondarenko] What was your relationship like?

[Mazurov] We fought all the time. He made a decision that the kolkhoz workers should hand over their cows to the kolkhoz herd. They're still unhappy about this in non-black-earth Russia. We not only did not take a single animal from the kolkhoz farmers buy, to the contrary, provided them to people who had none. Or, as is known, he cut out private garden plots, but we didn't cut them out. Of course, this caused conflicts. The same thing happened when there was pressure for every oblast to create its own sovnarkhoz. I was categorically opposed then. He even brought the question up in the Presidium: Mazurov has to be punished.

Belorussia also was the last to submit to the demand to curtail industrial cooperation and then only when Nikita Sergeyevich accused me of sabotage. And indeed it was only with us that, after the war, it supplied the needs of the people. This is the same cooperation which we now want to develop. Qualified industry, large state plants—automobile, tractor, machine building and others were not able to provide the people with consumer goods, but all this was done there. [portion omitted]

I remained in my position. This was not long before they let him go. One of his final badly conceived ideas was to eliminate the rayon party committees. Administrations for agriculture were supposed to be established in the rayons and within these administrations the deputy chief of the administration was to be in charge of party work... Then the period set in when Nikita Sergeyevich began to look on everybody with suspicion and completely cut himself off.

[Bondarenko] Is it possible that some story about a plot reached him?

[Mazurov] Judgments that a united group of Stalinists removed Khrushchev are without foundation. It is more correct to say that he removed himself. His popularity among the people had dropped sharply. Anecdotes appeared and, against this background, the film "Our Nikita Sergeyevich." The intelligentsia was aroused.

At the same time, he had a rather strange circle. Sadly, the well known academician Lysenko, then there was some secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish

party, an individual unknown among agricultural specialists. Dissatisfaction was also produced by the fact that he promoted people "from his own village," who had earlier worked with him in the Ukraine, to leading posts.

For the sake of justice, I will say that, in distinction from the Brezhnev family group, Khrushchev conducted himself modestly. And his wife even criticized him herself.

Within him, there were many confused things. Explosive, extraordinarily hard-working... I went with him to the ill-fated session of the UN where he banged with his shoe. It was embarrassing for me and our other comrades, but the Americans greatly liked it. Everywhere, they greeted him with pure exaltation, so that from his point of view this was excellent.

Recalling all this, I think that it is a pity that such a gifted person was so short on sober self-evaluation. Indeed, in this, he came close to Brezhnev. Although it is possible that Khrushchev simply did not closely examine who surrounded him, because he himself worked for everyone. He always devoted himself not to moving others out, but rather to an idea.

[Bondarenko] There were questionable things, but weren't there also useful ones? The decentralization of management, the elimination of ministries, what is your attitude toward these?

[Mazurov] In this reform of his there was, of course, a rational core. It is not by accident that we now returning in part to the same thing, although on a different level. But a reform cannot be carried out through the use of such pressure. This is the first thing. In the second place, the very same methods—administrative command ones—continued to exist in the sovnarkhozes as well. In essence, there was little that changed.

[Bondarenko] Why?

[Mazurov] Because this is the way that we were all brought up. I'm judging from my own case. If, as first secretary, I said something, then I considered my own opinion to be the final one. And all others considered it such. In a majority of cases this was correct, because it is not from among the worst Communists that first secretaries were selected, but rather from among people who are deserving and who know how to think and to work. But in a number of cases, as we know, this led to great failures and increased the inertia of society.

That is, this morass begins not during the times of Brezhnev, but earlier, within the framework of an administrative command system which even Stalin did not think up himself, but which was taken over from pre-revolutionary officialdom. And under Khrushchev this flourished. He was the same kind of administrator.

And, nevertheless, I held him in very high regard. Because of the fact that he was a working person. As distinguished from Brezhnev.

[Bondarenko] Kirill Trofimovich, you worked alongside Brezhnev for thirteen years in the capacity of first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and as a member of the Politburo. How did the Moscow pages of your biography develop?

[Mazurov] In an address at the plenum following Khrushchev's removal, I noted that our entire policy should not be concentrated in the hands of a single individual, the leader of the Party. Because, if it is incorrect, then the people will connect all shortcomings and failures to the Party, and this is bad for society. (Incidentally, somehow I myself did not recall this, but many years later, when leafing through a small book by an Italian communist historian I spotted a reference to my address). I spoke these words sincerely, and was not adapting myself to the situation. I'm sure that many others thought the same thing at the time. They had a real desire to restore the good name of our ideological, of our party service.

And in the field of economics, under the leadership of Kosygin, we began at that time to think about reforms, in some measure to develop that which was best of what Khrushchev started. We raised the question of giving greater independence to local organs of power; we day-dreamed about economic accountability. True, it was difficult for us to iron out specific details, because there were also a great deal of conservatism among us ourselves. But, in general, we did some good. It is not by accident that the 8th Five-Year Plan was the most highly productive one in the history of our country.

At that time the party resurrected the rayon and oblast committees. We levied greater demands. Things moved along. But then the reform gradually started to come to nothing, to fall apart, because it was necessary to fight for it and Leonid Ilich did not particularly support it. And the main concern of our leadership, unfortunately, became a concern about the creation of personal authority.

A leader requires authority. Help me, he said within a narrow circle. But help was considered to mean something special. For example, Podgorniy told me that Leonid Ilich asked him to stand up at required places during a speech the General Secretary was giving to the Moscow public and thereby to bring the audience to its feet so that they would applaud at the necessary places. And he added: "Perhaps this is not good, but it is necessary; it is necessary to do this." It was probably with these same motives, from his not wanting to share authority with anyone, that, at a session of the Politburo before the 23rd Party Congress, he proposed: I am giving a speech, you have all read it, this is our general report to

the Party. Therefore, there is no need for you to speak. Comrade Kosygin here can speak about the five-year plan; for the rest, it's not necessary."

We unwillingly agreed. And when the 24th Congress came, this "request" already functioned as a law.

[Bondarenko] It is accepted to consider Brezhnev an untalented leader. And nevertheless the levers of party and state power were in his hands for many years. How can this phenomenon be explained? And what position did the Politburo take?—as the organ of political leadership which has the role and task within the party of not only carrying out current policy and overseeing its development, of working out collective decisions, but also of preventing deformations, deviations from Leninist principles of action, norms, leadership...

[Mazurov] While Leonid Ilich certainly did not in fact possess the qualities of an outstanding figure, he was a good student of that same system about which we have been talking. And using its methods, he succeeded in moving the Politburo into the second rank, of depriving it of its right to a decisive voice. Seeming unoffensively—it was not necessary for the members of the Politburo and the secretaries to speak at plenums and congresses, because we have a general line. But in essence, we turned out to be without a voice.

In the following stage, limits were placed on possibilities to move around. This happened as follows. In the beginning, we travelled around the country; for example, from 1965 to 1970 I visited 29 oblasts in the RSFSR that I had not been to before that time. Particularly because I was in the executive organ, the deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers. And so, once I went to Sverdlovsk, and then on to Kemerovskaya Oblast. And there, the miners put me under very serious pressure. I spent a week with them, looked into things. I come back and Leonid Ilich summoned me: How is it that you were in Kemerov and did not say anything to me. (I had presumed that I would come and describe what the situation was there.) "You know, you cannot do this sort of thing; it is necessary to ask when you go off." And when the Politburo gathered he proposed: Comrades, we need to introduce order. It is necessary for the Buro to know who is going where. That there is a decision of the Buro. And to know beforehand what he is going to do there." We should have objected. Indeed, we were members of the leadership of the country and the Party. But, not for the first time, his proposal passed, although several members of the Politburo did object.

The fact was that Brezhnev used the Secretariat as a base and not the Politburo. Traditionally, the Secretariat had concerned itself with organization, with checking that decisions are carried out and with the placement of personnel. And now everything was being decided in advance by a group of secretaries. Suslov, Kirilenko, Kulakov, Ustinov... and others were there. The secretariat was looking at problems before the Politburo. And it

frequently happened that we would come to a session and Brezhnev would say: We have already consulted here and we think that such and such is necessary. And here would come the voice of the secretaries: Yes, Leonid Ilich, precisely so. All that remained for the members of the Politburo to do was to agree.

[Bondarenko] How many people were in the Politburo?

[Mazurov] There were both eleven and thirteen. At first, Podgorniy supported Brezhnev in everything (by the middle of the 1970's, he had begun to argue with him on many questions). Voronov, Shelepin, Kosygin, Polyanskiy, me—at a distance.

[Bondarenko] How did it nevertheless happen that Brezhnev stayed at the wheel for so many years?

[Mazurov] How did it happen? When they removed Khrushchev from his duties, they weren't looking for a change. The question arose—who? Brezhnev was second secretary. Accessible, impressive, knew how to get along with people, never blew up. And a biography. Went through the whole war; before the war, a Party oblast committee secretary. A suitable person, it seemed. But the main thing became clear later—that he was a very incompetent leader. Probably, feeling this, he was jealous of Kosygin.

[Bondarenko] Kiril Trofimovich, somewhere at the end of the 1970's your name began gradually to disappear from the official communications that came to our editorial offices from TASS. Then—the report that you had gone into retirement. You were 64 years old. For those times, this was an early departure for a member of the Politburo. What is the explanation for what happened then?

[Mazurov] It became difficult for me to work with him. But the final decision matured after several conversations with Leonid Ilich. All of us received classified information for official use and in one of the reports I once read that his daughter had conducted herself badly in France, that she was involved with some kind of speculators. And even without this, there had been a good deal of talk on this subject. I went to Brezhnev and, in a comradely way, tried to convince him that the time to put things in order in his family. I reminded him that his authority was our general authority. He read me out sharply—don't mess in my business... And there were many skirmishes on other matters. Finally, once, we told one another that we did not want to work together. I wrote a statement...

[Bondarenko] You have worked alongside three leaders of the Party and the state who were completely different in terms of their character make-up, education, and ambitions. Do you know the answer to the question why, in all these so different versions, under different socio-economic and political conditions, sooner or later the "cult syndrome" developed? Were there the antidotes?

[Mazurov] Ask something a little easier... Well, for example, not the cult but rather the little cult—this is more correct—of Brezhnev. How was it created? Gradually. One of the instruments, as is well known, was the servility of those closest to him. To strip from a person any kind of "prejudices", such as self-doubt and self-criticality and idolize every word he says. And so it was in this case. And the press, your brother, was very harmful on this plane. Yes, we sometimes uttered quotations from Brezhnev. Why? Because this was a reference not to the thoughts of Brezhnev, but to the position of the party as expressed by his lips. Yes, on the occasion of his anniversaries we sometimes spoke some kind words, but this the usual thing for people to do. On this basis alone, it cannot be considered that we created this cult. But the journalists...

[Bondarenko] But what can the journalists say if you, being next to him, occupying such high positions, set such an example?

[Mazurov] And therefore I want to say: We need to look into this, into who started it. Perhaps the subject of the cult himself? And, indeed, it was not accidental that I gave the example of how he asked Podgorniy to stand up during his speeches. Some people used to stand up, others competed with each other to see who could write about in the most lively way. And then the orators themselves were made a part of it: Once, in PRAVDA, they wrote in magnificent terms—and I'm speaking more modestly—what they thought about me!

I am in agreement; it is necessary to investigate where the core is here. Indeed, there still exists a strong faith in the good master [barin], who will come and judge, and for the powers that be such a faith is not a harmless thing. To a certain degree, glasnost and democratization provide a guarantee against a cult. But even this can be turned into its own opposite. I recall that one of our modern publicists declared somewhere: We won't permit Gorbachev to be removed. A person who has only just begun to prove himself as a high-level figure and, albeit based on the most praiseworthy convictions, they are already declaring their personal devotion to him and are defending him against possible opponents.

[Bondarenko] And, nevertheless, it is hardly possible to completely "regulate" external manifestations of personal sympathies and preferences. A much greater responsibility lies with those who most closely surround him.

[Mazurov] Unfortunately, all this is not as simple as it sometimes seems. I will speak, for example, about myself. The truth is that it was not in my own interests to enter into some kind of confrontation with the leader, even if I was not in agreement with him. Why? I was constrained by constant squabbling within in our party and by the opinions of foreigners. I travelled a great deal and visited many countries, party organizations, congresses. I heard more than a few reproaches: Listen,

when will it end with you? You have exposed Stalin, you have removed Khrushchev, you are dissatisfied with Brezhnev. You will never have any kind of stability.

And so, I was tormented by a possibly false feeling. Why, I said, should I further compromise the Party. I will come out, let us suppose, with some criticism and it will be necessary to pick up the all the pieces again... Certainly others also thought this way. We, perhaps, took an incorrect view of the struggle for the authority of the Party. In that phenomenon about which we are speaking, this, certainly, also has a role to play. Certainly, various factors create the grounds for it. On one hand—the requirement for a “good master,” on the other—concern about the unity of the Party, a fear of weakening it. And I consider the following reason to be of no little importance. We in the party, and in the country as a whole, have developed an immoral—in my opinion—tradition, by which a leader who, for one reason or another, leaves his leadership post is consigned to oblivion. And frequently, he suffers not mentally, but also materially. From this, there is a striving to “stay afloat” by any means. Although it is immoral, many have “stayed” by toadyism. But the decisive reason for this illness, I think, has been the low cultural level of our top leader [vozhd]. The question of a cult never arose under Lenin; he, to the contrary, opposed this... Well, and what are the qualities that a leader of such high rank must possess so as not to degenerate from the sound of hymns of to his praise? This is now a subject for study by science. It is necessary to concern ourselves with this. We are not living our final year.

Incidentally, I would not want our conversation to take place solely on such a critical note. Indeed, remember that, with regard to any problems, along with the dark aspects, dialectically there are also bright ones which also operate. I have already spoken about my own extremely complicated relationship with Khrushchev. About his mistakes. But, indeed, he did a lot. Take the 20th Congress. This demanded courage from Khrushchev—for him to speak this way about Stalin and Stalinism. And this courage lay not only in uncovering the truth, in daring to awaken the awful truth from the hypnosis of the entire people. Also needed was an internal, a very decisive spiritual break. Nevertheless, Nikita Sergeyevich was not a pawn in these tragic times; he himself bore his own part of the blame for them. But he came forward, because he understood that the country could no longer be run the way it was going.

... We need to carry out restructuring not only in the economy and in the spiritual sphere, but also necessarily in the area of truth, and not to do this will stagger faith in socialism. We, the veterans, are very much worried about the problems of young people. It is necessary to strengthen in the young a faith in socialism as the most advanced social system and to work on eliminating deformations, to put to work all the potential possibilities of socialism.

[Bondarenko] Obviously it is important to listen also to living participants in events. In connection with this, I have the following question, Kirill Trofimovich, a question which society needs an answer to today. Where did Khrushchev's reforms, and later the reform of 1965, “trip up?” What isn't working within the mechanism? Where should we spread the straw, when we are setting about reforms which a little bit have the ring of earlier ones?

[Mazurov] I don't know what sort of wise man could find an answer to this. In those days there were certain conditions, and now there are others. But I will say something about one particular. All the reforms were undercut by the administrative-command system and an absence of glasnost.

[Bondarenko] Let us say that you received access to some kind of archives of the period of your work in the Politburo, to documents from that time...

[Mazurov] This would be a true historical labor.

[Bondarenko] Is there any kind of time-limit for the secrecy of Politburo materials? Do you know anything about this?

[Mazurov] When I was working, everything was secret, even my own personal documents. True, I could ask for them, but then there was no point to this. Life demanded work.

Incidentally, some people have developed the impression that during the period of stagnation the only thing we did was rest. I never had a personal life, in either the stagnant, or the voluntaristic, or the Stalinist periods. Because, in this ill-fated stagnant phase, the general secretary of the Central Committee might permit himself to rest, and he did rest. The chairman of the Council of Ministers, however, or his deputies, did not have any calm days. At night they would phone, and you had to get of bed: Here, there was an earthquake; here, a fire; here, an accident; here, some unpleasantness. It was necessary to do something, to call somebody out, to give somebody instructions...

[Bondarenko] Can't you be satisfied with the final results?

[Mazurov] I can't. We could have done considerably more. Back in the 8th Five-Year Plan, we worked simply remarkably, everyone labored actively, questions were discussed collectively, and everyone answered for his own matters. And then—so-called stability.

[Bondarenko] How is it, in your view, don't we have the danger now that, after a year or two, everyone will retreat from restructuring and that we will again begin to talk about stability?

[Mazurov] I would prefer in conversations about restructuring not to engage in prognoses concerning its fate. It isn't worthwhile either to become frightened or to make predictions. In my opinion, we still have not mastered the present day. Take economic transformations. They are going with difficulty, but why? I think there are many reasons. On one hand, the braking effect of old methods; these are still operative. On the other, we are proceeding very timidly with measures that are obvious. I am talking about cost accounting [khozaschet]. There is much that is hindering it. Instructions, norms, etc. And it is not a matter of somebody's administrative stupidity, as is customarily supposed. In my view, the reason is more complicated and profound. I think there will be difficulties with market relationships. They are an objective reality. But there are no recipes on how to use them under socialism. And, indeed, there are also definite difficulties inherent in them. First—unemployment. Second—a sharp differentiation of the incomes of the population. An aggravation of relationships between certain groups will come at once and social problems may arise. And, unavoidably, there will be a penetration of a different psychology and, together with it, an ideology. Perhaps I am mistaken, but it seems to me that many of our communist directors intuitively sense these reefs and therefore are putting brakes on the matter. And, unfortunately, our science still is not hurrying to help. Recommendations are contradictory. Now change price formation immediately, now reject this entirely. Incidentally, I think that the latter, probably, is the more correct step. It is evident that we should first of all bring elementary order to the economy.

I want to share still another personal concern. As before, our agriculture is essentially on its knees. Right now, we are captivated by the lease, by the family contract. At some stage, this will pay off. Yes, the family contract will give increased labor productivity and this is gratifying. But on account of what? On account of an intensification

of labor, and not of introducing the achievements of science and technology. Can we really proceed only by this path? Is it really possible to introduce modern technology in agricultural production based on the family contract?

We are paying little attention to the experiences of Yugoslavia, Poland, and Hungary. It is necessary to think, to seek the most correct paths for improving agriculture. In the first years, the family contract may help. We, for instance, are doing everything possible to assist our Russian councils of war and labor veterans so that they can help to develop farming on the private plots of veterans themselves. As regards the economy, then I think that we are preparing too narrow specialists who frequently are trained to think only within the limits of their own departments.

[Bondarenko] If so, won't the future peoples deputies also will turn out to have, so to say, a one-sided point of view?

[Mazurov] We see this sometimes on television. When certain candidates talk about their own programs, it appears from these that they will go to the congress where they will immediately set forth all the problems of their own regions, and then "drum up support" for them. Our group of veterans has a different attitude. There are 75 of us, candidates, and our main task is not only to get pensions for old people that will provide them with a minimum living standard (although this, unconditionally, is a very urgent problem), but to think about national problems. We cannot teach the young what to do and how to do it, but we can protect them from how and what should not be done. We have a great deal of experience. If the candidates, the future deputies, begin to carve out pieces for themselves, then we will obtain nothing from our political reform; we will tear power to bits.

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2. The dynamics of the population figures for the union republics are characterized by Table 1.

[Report by State Committee for Statistics: "Preliminary Results of 1989 All-Union Census"]

**Table 1.**

	1979 Population (in thousands)	1989 Population (in thousands)	1989 Population in Percentage of 1979
USSR	282,436	286,717	109
RSFSR	137,551	147,386	107
Ukrainian SSR	49,755	51,704	104
Belorussian SSR	9,580	10,200	107
Uzbek SSR	15,391	19,906	129
Kazakh SSR	14,684	16,538	113
Georgian SSR	5,015	5,449	109
Azerbaijan SSR	6,028	7,029	117
Lithuanian SSR	3,398	3,690	109
Moldavian SSR	3,947	4,341	110
Latvian SSR	2,521	2,681	106
Kirghiz SSR	3,529	4,291	122
Tajik SSR	3,801	5,112	134
Armenian SSR	3,031	3,283	108
Turkmen SSR	2,759	3,534	128
Estonian SSR	1,466	1,573	107

[Text] The USSR State Committee for Statistics [Goskomstat] has worked up the results of the all-union census taken in January 1989 on the population figures for the USSR, union and autonomous republics, krais, oblasts, autonomous okrugs, and cities with a population of 100,000 or more, breaking it down by urban and rural population and by sex.

1. According to the all-union census data, the population of the Soviet Union as of 12 January 1989 was 286,717,000.

Changes in the USSR population figures according to censuses taken during the postwar years are characterized by the following: 15 January 1959—208.8 million; 15 January 1970—241.7 million; 17 January 1979—262.4 million; 12 January 1989—286.7 million.

In the 10 years since the 1979 census, the country's population increased by 24.3 million people, or 9.3 percent.

Natural growth was the main factor for the population increase in most of the union republics.

3. The change in the rural and urban population distribution of the USSR is shown in the Table 2.

**Table 2.**

Year	Total Population (in millions)	Including		In Percentage of Total Population	
		Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
1959	208.8	100.0	108.8	48	52
1970	241.7	136.0	105.7	56	44
1979	262.4	163.6	98.8	62	38
1989	286.7	188.8	97.9	66	34

The urban population increased by 25.2 million compared to 1979, including 14.6 million as a result of natural growth and 10.6 million as a result of migratory inflow and transformation of rural localities into urban ones.

As a result of the migratory outflow and transformation of rural localities into urban ones, the rural population decreased by 0.9 million.

4. The change in number of males and females is shown in Table 3.

**Table 3.**

Year	Millions of People		Number of Females per 1000 Males		Rural Population
	Males	Females	Entire Population	Urban Population	
1959	94.0	114.8	1220	1211	1229
1970	111.4	130.3	1170	1158	1186
1979	122.3	140.1	1145	1144	1148
1989	135.5	151.2	1116	1126	1098



In 1959, the number of females exceeded the number of males by 20.7 million. In subsequent years, there was a gradual leveling out, and this excess was reduced to 15.7 by the 1989 census. The number of females begins surpassing the number of males at age 30 and is caused by the higher death rate of the male population and, in

addition, in the elderly population by the great losses in the male population during the war years.

5. Table 4 gives census data on the population figures for union and autonomous republics, krais, obslasts, and autonomous okrugs.

Table 4.

	Population as of 12 Jan 89 (in thousands)			1989 in Percentage of 1979 (Total Population)	In Percentage of Total Population			
	Total	Urban	Rural		Urban (1989)	Rural (1989)	Urban (1979)	Rural (1979)
<b>USSR</b>	286,717	188,791	97,926	109	66	34	62	38
<b>RSFSR</b>	147,386	108,419	38,967	107	74	26	69	31
<b>Northern Region</b>	6,125	4,689	1,436	109	77	23	72	28
Karelian ASSR	792	646	146	108	82	18	78	22
Komi ASSR	1,263	954	309	113	76	24	71	29
Arkhangelsk Oblast	1,570	1,152	418	107	73	27	72	28
Including Nenetsk Autonomous Okrug	55	34	21	117	63	37	59	41
Vologda Oblast	1,354	881	473	103	65	35	59	41
Murmansk Oblast	1,146	1,056	90	119	92	8	89	11
<b>Northwestern Region</b>	8,279	7,172	1,107	108	87	13	85	15
Leningrad <sup>1</sup>	5,020	5,020	-	109	100	-	100	-
Leningrad Oblast	1,659	1,093	566	109	66	34	64	36
Novgorod Oblast	753	524	229	104	70	30	65	35
Pskov Oblast	847	535	312	99.6	63	37	55	45
<b>Central Region</b>	30,379	25,077	5,302	105	83	17	78	22
Bryansk Oblast	1,475	992	483	98	67	33	59	41
Vladimir Oblast	1,654	1,310	344	105	79	21	75	21
Ivanovo Oblast	1,317	1,075	242	99.7	82	18	80	20
Kalinin Oblast	1,670	1,194	476	101	71	29	67	33
Kaluga Oblast	1,067	735	332	108	69	31	62	38
Kostroma Oblast	809	555	254	101	69	31	64	36
Moscow <sup>1</sup>	8,967	8,966	1	110	100	0	100	0
Moscow Oblast	6,686	5,307	1,379	107	79	21	75	25
Orel Oblast	891	555	336	99.9	62	38	55	45
Ryazan Oblast	1,346	885	461	99	66	34	58	42
Smolensk Oblast	1,158	788	370	103	68	32	60	40
Tula Oblast	1,868	1,514	354	98	81	19	78	22
Yaroslavl Oblast	1,471	1,201	270	103	82	18	78	22
<b>Volga-Vyatsk Region</b>	8,457	5,830	2,627	101	69	31	62	38
Mari ASSR	750	459	291	107	61	39	53	47
Mordovian ASSR	964	545	419	97	57	43	47	53
Chuvash ASSR	1,336	773	563	103	58	42	46	54
Gorkiy Oblast	3,713	2,869	844	100.5	77	23	73	27
Kirov Oblast	1,694	1,184	510	102	70	30	64	36
<b>Central Chernozem Region</b>	7,741	4,667	3,074	99	60	40	52	48
Belgorod Oblast	1,381	871	510	106	63	37	53	47
Voronezh Oblast	2,470	1,507	963	99.7	61	39	54	46
Kursk Oblast	1,339	775	564	96	58	42	48	52
Lipetsk Oblast	1,231	771	460	100.5	63	37	56	44
Tambov Oblast	1,320	743	577	95	56	44	49	51
<b>Volga Region</b>	16,411	12,022	4,389	106	73	27	68	32
Kalmyk ASSR	322	147	175	110	46	54	41	59
Tatar ASSR	3,640	2,658	982	106	73	27	63	37
Astrakhan Oblast	998	680	318	109	68	32	67	33
Volgograd Oblast	2,593	1,969	624	105	76	24	71	29

Kuybyshev Oblast	3,266	2,638	628	106	81	19	78	22
Penza Oblast	1,502	930	572	100	62	38	55	45
Saratov Oblast	2,690	2,000	690	105	74	26	71	29
Ulyanovsk Oblast	1,400	1,000	400	110	71	29	63	37
<b>North Caucasus Region</b>	16,737	9,588	7,149	108	57	43	55	45
Dagestan ASSR	1,792	783	1,009	110	44	56	39	61
Kabardino-Balkar ASSR	760	465	295	113	61	39	58	42
North Ossetian ASSR	834	436	198	106	69	31	68	32
Chechen-Ingush ASSR	1,277	530	747	111	41	59	43	57
Krasnodar Kray	5,115	2,776	2,339	106	54	46	52	48
Including Adyge Autonomous Oblast	432	225	207	107	52	48	48	52
Stavropol Kray	2,855	1,531	1,324	112	54	46	50	50
Including Karachayevo-Cherkess Autonomous Oblast	418	204	214	113	49	51	43	57
Rostov Oblast	4,304	3,067	1,237	105	71	29	69	31
<b>Ural Region</b>	20,287	15,165	5,122	104	75	25	71	29
Bashkir ASSR	3,952	2,522	1,430	103	64	36	57	43
Udmurt ASSR	1,609	1,122	487	108	70	30	65	35
Kurgan Oblast	1,105	605	500	102	55	45	51	49
Orenburg Oblast	2,174	1,414	760	104	65	35	60	40
Perm Oblast	3,100	2,396	704	103	77	23	74	26
Including Komi-Permyak Autonomous Okrug	159	47	112	82	30	70	24	76
Sverdlovsk Oblast	4,721	4,113	608	106	87	13	85	15
Chelyabinsk Oblast	3,626	2,993	633	105	83	17	81	19
<b>Western Siberia Region</b>	15,003	10,916	4,087	116	73	27	68	32
Altay Kray	2,822	1,582	1,240	106	56	44	52	48
Including Gorno-Altay Autonomous Oblast	192	52	140	112	27	73	28	72
Kemerovo Oblast	3,175	2,774	401	107	87	13	86	14
Novosibirsk Oblast	2,782	2,078	704	106	75	25	71	29
Omsk Oblast	2,140	1,452	688	110	68	32	63	37
Tomsk Oblast	1,001	690	311	116	69	31	65	35
Tyumen Oblast	3,083	2,340	743	163	76	24	61	39
Including:								
Khanty-Mansiysk Autonomous Okrug	1,269	1,150	119	223	91	9	78	22
Yamalo-Nenetsk Autonomous Okrug	487	379	108	309	78	22	51	49
<b>Eastern Siberia Region</b>	9,155	6,583	2,572	112	72	28	69	31
Buryat ASSR	1,042	641	401	116	62	38	57	43
Tuva ASSR	309	145	164	116	47	53	43	57
Krasnoyarsk Kray	3,595	2,619	976	112	73	27	69	31
Including:								
Khakass Autonomous Oblast	569	413	156	114	73	27	68	32
Taymyr (Dolgano-Nenetsk) Autonomous Okrug	55	37	18	125	67	33	65	35
Evenki Autonomous Okrug	24	7	17	155	31	69	35	65
Irkutsk Oblast	2,831	2,279	552	111	81	19	78	22
Including Ust-Orda Buryat Autonomous Okrug	136	25	111	103	19	81	18	82
Chita Oblast	1,378	899	479	112	65	35	63	37
Including Aga-Buryat Autonomous Okrug	77	25	52	111	33	67	26	74
<b>Far East Region</b>	7,941	6,021	1,920	116	76	24	75	25
Yakut ASSR	1,081	721	360	129	67	33	61	39
Maritime Kray	2,260	1,751	509	114	77	23	76	24
Khabarovsk Kray	1,824	1,430	394	116	78	22	79	21
Including Jewish Autonomous Oblast	216	143	73	113	66	34	68	32
Amur Oblast	1,058	716	342	113	68	32	65	35
Kamchatka Oblast	466	379	87	123	81	19	83	17

Including Koryak Autonomous Okrug	39	15	24	115	39	61	39	61
Magadan Oblast	543	440	103	117	81	19	78	22
Including Chukotsk Autonomous Okrug	158	115	43	119	73	27	70	30
Sakhalin Oblast	709	584	125	108	82	18	82	18
Kaliningrad Oblast	871	689	182	108	79	21	77	23
<b>Ukrainian SSR</b>	51,704	34,591	17,113	104	67	33	61	39
<b>Donets-Dnieper Region</b>	21,778	17,226	4,552	103	79	21	75	25
Voroshilovgrad Oblast	2,864	2,474	390	103	86	14	85	15
Dnepropetrovsk Oblast	3,883	3,233	650	107	83	17	80	20
Donetsk Oblast	5,328	4,810	518	103	90	10	89	11
Zaporozhye Oblast	2,081	1,577	504	107	76	24	71	29
Kirovograd Oblast	1,240	743	497	99	60	40	52	48
Poltava Oblast	1,753	991	762	101	57	43	50	50
Sumy Oblast	1,433	886	547	98	62	38	53	47
Kharkov Oblast	3,196	2,512	684	105	79	21	75	25
<b>Southwestern Region</b>	22,257	12,272	9,985	103	55	45	47	53
Vinnitsa Oblast	1,932	857	1,075	94	44	56	35	65
Volyn Oblast	1,062	519	543	105	49	51	40	60
Zhitomir Oblast	1,545	818	727	97	53	47	44	56
Transcarpathian Oblast	1,252	515	737	108	41	59	38	62
Ivano-Frankovsk Oblast	1,424	598	826	107	42	58	36	64
Kiev <sup>1</sup>	2,602	2,602	-	121	100	-	100	-
Kiev Oblast	1,940	1,042	898	101	54	46	45	55
Lvov Oblast	2,748	1,630	1,118	106	59	41	53	47
Rovno Oblast	1,170	530	640	104	45	55	36	64
Ternopol Oblast	1,169	477	692	101	41	59	31	69
Khmelnitskiy Oblast	1,527	723	804	98	47	53	36	64
Cherkassy Oblast	1,532	810	722	99	53	47	44	56
Chernigov Oblast	1,416	756	660	94	53	47	44	56
Chernovtsy Oblast	938	385	543	105	42	58	38	62
<b>Southern Region</b>	7,669	5,093	2,576	108	66	34	63	37
Crimean Oblast	2,456	1,714	742	113	70	30	67	33
Nikolayev Oblast	1,331	875	456	107	66	34	60	40
Odessa Oblast	2,642	1,745	897	104	66	34	62	38
Kherson Oblast	1,240	759	481	107	61	39	58	42
<b>Belorussian SSR</b>	10,200	6,676	3,524	107	65	35	55	45
Brest Oblast	1,458	824	634	107	57	43	45	55
Vitebsk Oblast	1,413	911	502	102	64	36	56	44
Gomel Oblast	1,674	1,070	604	105	64	36	52	48
Grodno Oblast	1,171	670	501	103	57	43	44	56
Minsk <sup>1</sup>	1,612	1,612	0	126	100	0	100	0
Minsk Oblast	1,587	744	843	102	47	53	36	64
Mogilev Oblast	1,285	845	440	103	66	34	57	43
<b>Uzbek SSR</b>	19,906	8,106	11,800	129	41	59	41	59
Kara-Kalpak ASSR	1,214	584	630	135	48	52	42	58
Andizhan Oblast	1,728	559	1,169	128	32	68	29	71
Bukhara Oblast	1,141	397	744	129	35	65	33	67
Kashka-Darya Oblast	1,594	415	1,179	142	26	74	25	75
Namagan Oblast	1,475	550	925	134	37	63	34	66
Samarkand Oblast	2,778	926	1,852	129	33	67	42	58
Surkhan-Darya Oblast	1,255	245	1,010	140	19	81	19	81
Syr-Darya Oblast	1,316	407	909	137	31	69	29	71
Tashkent <sup>1</sup>	2,079	2,079	-	116	100	-	100	-
Tashkent Oblast	2,157	958	1,199	120	44	56	43	57
Fergana Oblast	2,153	703	1,450	127	33	67	33	67
Khorezm Oblast	1,016	283	733	136	28	72	20	80
<b>Kazakh SSR</b>	16,538	9,465	7,073	113	57	43	54	46
Aktyubinsk Oblast	738	399	339	117	54	46	47	53

Alma-Ata <sup>1</sup>	1,132	1,132	-	124	100	-	100	-
Alma-Ata Oblast	978	607	327	107	65	35	61	39
East Kazakhstan Oblast	934	607	327	107	65	35	61	39
Guryev Oblast	755	548	207	121	73	27	71	29
Dzhambul Oblast	1,050	498	552	113	47	53	45	55
Dzhezkazgan Oblast	496	388	108	110	78	22	77	23
Karaganda Oblast	1,352	1,147	205	107	85	15	85	15
Kzyl-Orda Oblast	651	422	229	115	65	35	63	37
Kokchetav Oblast	664	260	404	108	39	61	34	66
Kustanay Oblast	1,221	616	605	113	50	50	46	54
Pavlodar Oblast	944	605	339	117	64	36	57	43
North Kazakhstan Oblast	600	287	313	105	48	52	44	56
Semipalatinsk Oblast	838	429	409	108	51	49	48	52
Taldy-Kurgan Oblast	721	325	396	109	45	55	39	61
Ural Oblast	631	269	362	109	43	57	38	62
Tselinograd Oblast	1,002	572	430	108	57	43	53	47
Chimkent Oblast	1,831	745	1,086	117	41	59	40	60
<b>Georgian SSR</b>	5,449	3,033	2,416	109	56	44	52	48
Abkhaz ASSR	537	256	281	106	48	52	47	53
Adzhar ASSR	393	181	212	111	46	54	45	55
South Osetian Autonomous Oblast	99	50	49	102	51	49	42	58
Tbilisi <sup>1</sup>	1,264	1,264	0	118	100	0	100	0
Republic-subordinate rayons	3,156	1,282	1,874	106	41	59	37	63
<b>Azerbaijan SSR</b>	7,029	3,785	3,244	117	54	46	53	47
Nakhichevan ASSR	295	89	206	124	30	70	26	74
Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast	188	97	91	117	52	48	44	56
<b>Baku<sup>1</sup></b>	1,757	1,757	-	113	100	-	100	-
Republic-subordinate rayons	4,789	1,842	2,947	117	38	62	37	63
<b>Lithuanian SSR</b>	3,690	2,509	1,181	109	68	32	61	39
Vilnius	582	582	-	121	100	-	100	-
<b>Moldavian SSR</b>	4,341	2,037	2,304	110	47	53	39	61
Kishinev <sup>1</sup>	720	711	9	136	99	1	99	1
<b>Latvian SSR</b>	2,681	1,907	774	106	71	29	68	32
Riga	915	915	-	110	100	-	100	-
<b>Kirghiz SSR</b>	4,291	1,641	2,650	122	38	62	39	61
Frunze <sup>1</sup>	626	623	3	115	99	1	98	2
Issyk-Kul Oblast	665	183	482	116	28	72	25	75
Osh Oblast	2,010	576	1,434	129	29	71	30	70
Republic-subordinate rayons	990	259	731	116	26	74	25	75
<b>Tajik SSR</b>	5,112	1,667	3,445	134	33	67	35	65
Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast	161	20	141	127	13	87	14	86
Dushanbe <sup>1</sup>	604	596	8	121	99	1	99	1
Leninabad Oblast	1,559	527	1,032	130	34	66	36	64
Khatlon Oblast	1,703	363	1,340	139	21	79	23	77
Republic-subordinate rayons	1,085	161	924	143	15	85	14	86
<b>Armenian SSR</b>	3,283	2,225	1,058	108	68	32	66	34
Yerevan <sup>1</sup>	1,215	1,207	8	118	99	1	99	1
<b>Turkmen SSR</b>	3,534	1,603	1,931	128	45	55	48	52
Ashkhabad <sup>1</sup>	402	401	1	127	99.6	0.4	99.9	0.1
Mary Oblast	815	222	593	129	27	73	32	68
Tashauz Oblast	699	220	479	132	32	68	30	70
Chardzhou Oblast	735	322	413	127	44	56	46	54
Republic-subordinate rayons	883	438	445	126	50	50	54	46
<b>Estonian SSR</b>	1,573	1,127	446	107	72	28	70	30
Tallinn <sup>1</sup>	503	503	-	114	100	-	100	-

<sup>1</sup>Including localities subordinate to the city soviet.

6. There were 2,190 cities as of the beginning of 1989. Of these, 57 had a population of more than 500,000, including 23 with a population of over 1 million.

Compared to 1979, the number of people living in large cities (from 100,000 to 500,000) increased by 9 percent, the number living in major cities (from 500,000 to 1 million) increased by 18 percent, and the number living in cities with population over 1 million increased by 29 percent.

The change in the population of cities with 100,000 or more residents is shown in Table 5.

Table 5.

City	1979 Population	1989 Population	1989 in Percentage of 1979
	(in thousands)		
Abakan	128	154	120
Aktyubinsk	191	253	133
Aleksandriya	82	103	125
Alma-Ata	910	1,128	124
Almetyevsk	110	129	118
Angarsk	239	266	111
Angren	106	131	124
Andizhan	230	293	127
Anzhero-Sudzhensk	105	108	103
Arzamas	93	109	117
Armavir	162	161	99.7
Arkhangelsk	385	416	108
Astrakhan	461	509	110
Achinsk	117	122	104
Ashkhabad	312	398	128
Baku	1,550	1,757	113
Without counting localities subordinate to the Baku City Soviet	1,022	1,150	113
Balakovo	152	198	130
Balashikha	118	136	115
Baranovichi	131	159	122
Barnaul	535	602	112
Batumi	123	136	111
Belaya Tserkov	151	197	130
Belgorod	240	300	125
Beltsy	125	159	127
Bendery	101	130	128
Berdiansk	122	132	108
Berezniki	185	201	109
Biysk	212	233	110
Blagoveshchensk (Amur Oblast)	172	206	120
Bobruysk	192	223	116
Borisov	112	144	129
Bratsk	214	255	120
Brest	177	258	145
Bryansk	394	452	115
Bukhara	185	224	121
Velikiye Luki	102	114	112

Vilnius	481	582	121
Vinnitsa	314	374	119
Vitebsk	297	350	118
Vladivostok	550	648	118
Vladimir	296	350	118
Volgograd	929	999	108
Volgodonsk	91	176	192
Volzhskiy	209	269	128
Vologda	237	283	120
Vorkuta	100	116	116
Voronezh	783	887	113
Voroshilovgrad	463	497	107
Votkinsk	90	103	115
Glazov	81	104	128
Gomel	383	500	131
Gorlovka	336	337	100.3
Gorkiy	1,344	1,438	107
Grodno	195	270	139
Groznyy	375	401	107
Guryev	131	149	114
Daugavpils	116	127	109
Dzhambul	264	307	116
Dzhezkazgan	89	109	122
Dzhizak	70	102	147
Dzerzhinsk (Gorkiy Oblast)	257	285	111
Dimitrovgrad	106	124	117
Dneprodzerzhinsk	250	282	113
Dnepropetrovsk	1,066	1,179	111
Donetsk	1,021	1,110	109
Dushanbe	494	595	120
Yevpatoriya	93	108	116
Yelets	112	120	108
Yenakiyevo	114	121	106
Yerevan	1,019	1,199	118
Zhitomir	244	292	120
Zhukovskiy	90	101	112
Zagorsk	107	115	107
Zaporozhye	781	884	113
Zelenograd	140	158	113
Zlatoust	198	208	105
Ivanovo	465	481	104
Ivano-Frankovsk	150	214	143
Izhevsk	549	635	116
Irkutsk	550	626	114
Yoshkar-Ola	201	242	120
Kazan	993	1,094	110
Kalinin	412	451	110
Kaliningrad	355	401	113
Kaliningrad (Moscow Oblast)	133	160	120
Kaluga	265	312	118
Kamenets-Podolskiy	84	102	121
Kamensk-Uralskiy	187	209	112
Kamyshin	112	122	110
Kansk	101	110	109
Karaganda	572	614	107
Karshi	108	156	144
Kaunas	370	423	114
Kemerovo	462	520	113
Kerch	157	174	111

Kzyl-Orda	156	153	98	Without counting	7,933	8,769	111
Kiev	2,133	2,587	121	localities subordinate			
Kineshma	101	105	104	to Moscow City Soviet			
Kirov	390	441	113	Murmansk	381	468	123
Kirovabad	232	278	120	Murom	114	124	109
Kirovograd	237	269	114	Mytishchi	141	154	110
Kiselevsk	122	128	105	Naberezhnyye Chelny	301	501	166
Kislovodsk	101	114	113	Navoi	84	107	127
Kishinev	503	665	132	Nalchik	207	235	113
Klaypeda	176	204	116	Namangan	227	308	136
Kovrov	143	160	112	Nakhodka	133	165	124
Kokand	153	182	119	Nevinnomyssk	104	121	117
Kokchetav	103	137	133	Neftekamsk	70	107	153
Kolomna	147	162	110	Nizhnevartovsk	109	242	222
Kolpino	114	142	125	Nizhnekamsk	134	191	142
Kommunarsk	120	126	105	Nizhniy Tagil	398	440	111
Komsomolsk-na-	264	315	120	Nikolayev	440	503	114
Amure				Nikopol	146	158	108
Konstantinovka	112	108	96	Novgorod	186	229	123
Kostroma	255	278	109	Novokuznetsk	541	600	111
Kramatorsk	178	198	111	Novokuybyshevsk	109	113	104
Krasnodar	560	620	111	Novomoskovsk	147	146	99.7
Krasnoyarsk	796	912	115	(Tula Oblast)			
Krasnyy Luch	106	113	107	Novorossiysk	158	186	117
Kremchug	210	236	113	Novosibirsk	1,312	1,436	109
Krivoy Rog	650	713	110	Novotroitsk	95	106	112
Kuybyshev	1,206	1,257	104	Novocheboksarsk	85	115	135
Kurgan	310	356	115	Novocherkassk	183	187	102
Kursk	375	424	113	Novoshakhtinsk	104	106	102
Kustanay	165	224	136	Noginsk	119	123	104
Kutaisi	194	235	121	Norilsk	180	174	97
Leninabad	130	160	123	Nukus	109	169	155
Leninakan	207	120	58	Obninsk	73	100	136
Leningrad	4,588	5,020	109	Odessa	1,046	1,115	107
Without counting	4,073	4,456	109	Odintsovo	101	125	123
localities subordinate				Oktyabrskiy	88	105	119
to Leningrad City				Omsk	1,014	1,148	113
Soviet				Ordzhonikidze	279	300	108
Leninsk-Kuznetskiy	158	165	105	(North Osetian ASSR)			
Liyepaya	108	114	106	Orel	305	337	110
Lipetsk	396	450	114	Orenburg	458	547	120
Lisichansk	119	127	106	Orekhovo-Zuyevo	132	137	104
Lutsk	141	198	140	Orsk	246	271	110
Lvov	667	790	118	Orsha	112	123	110
Lyubertsy	154	165	107	Osh	169	213	126
Magadan	121	152	125	Pavlograd	107	131	122
Magnitogorsk	406	440	108	Pavlodar	273	331	121
Maykop	128	149	116	Panevezhis	102	126	125
Makeyevka	436	430	99	Penza	483	543	112
Margilan	110	125	114	Pervouralsk	129	142	110
Mariupol	503	517	103	Perm	999	1,091	109
Makhachkala	251	315	125	Petrozavodsk	234	270	115
Mezhdurechensk	91	107	117	Petropavlovsk	207	241	117
Melitopol	161	174	108	Petropavlovsk-	215	269	125
Miass	150	168	112	Kamchatskiy			
Minsk	1,262	1,589	126	Pinsk	90	119	132
Michurinsk	101	109	108	Podolsk	202	210	104
Mogilev	290	356	123	Poltava	279	315	113
Mozyr	73	101	137	Prokopyevsk	266	274	103
Moscow	8,137	8,967	110	Pskov	176	204	116
				Pyatigorsk	110	129	110

Riga	835	915	110
Rovno	179	228	127
Rostov-na-Donu	934	1,020	109
Rubtsovsk	157	172	109
Rudnyy	110	124	113
Rustavi	129	159	123
Rybinsk	239	252	105
Ryazan	453	515	114
Salavat	137	150	109
Samarkand	346	366	106
Saransk	263	312	119
Sarapul	107	111	104
Saratov	856	905	106
Sverdlovsk	1,211	1,367	113
Sevastopol	301	356	119
Severodvinsk	197	249	126
Severodonetsk	113	131	116
Semipalatinsk	283	334	118
Serov	101	104	102
Serpukhov	140	144	103
Simferopol	302	344	114
Slavyansk	140	135	96
Smolensk	299	341	114
Solikamsk	101	110	109
Sochi	287	337	117
Stavropol	258	318	123
Staryy Oskol	115	174	151
Stakhanov	108	112	104
Sterlitamak	220	248	113
Sumgait	190	231	122
Sumy	228	291	128
Surgut	107	248	231
Sukhumi	114	121	106
Syzran	166	174	105
Syktyvkar	183	233	127
Taganrog	276	291	105
Taldy-Kurgan	88	119	136
Tallinn	430	482	112
Tambov	270	305	113
Tartu	105	114	109
Tashauz	84	112	133
Tashkent	1,780	2,073	116
Tbilisi	1,066	1,260	118
Temirtau	213	212	99.7
Ternopol	144	205	143
Tirasopol	139	182	131
Tolyatti	502	630	126
Tomsk	421	502	119
Tula	514	540	105
Tyumen	359	477	133
Uzhgorod	91	117	129
Ulan-Ude	300	353	117
Ulyanovsk	464	625	135
Uralsk	167	200	120
Urgench	100	128	128
Usolye-Sibirskoye	103	107	104
Ussuriysk	147	162	110
Ust-Ilimsk	69	109	158
Ust-Kamenogorsk	274	324	118
Ufa	978	1,083	111
Ukhta	87	111	126

Fergana	176	200	114
Frunze	533	616	116
Khabarovsk	528	601	114
Kharkov	1,444	1,611	112
Kherson	319	355	111
Khimki	118	133	113
Khmelnitskiy	172	237	138
Tselinograd	232	277	119
Chardzhou	140	161	115
Cheboksary	308	420	136
Chelyabinsk	1,030	1,143	111
Cherepovets	266	310	117
Cherkassy	228	290	127
Cherkessk	91	113	124
Chernigov	238	296	124
Chernovtsy	219	257	117
Chimkent	322	393	122
Chirchik	132	156	119
Chita	303	366	121
Shakhty	209	224	107
Shevchenko	111	159	144
Shyaulay	118	145	123
Shchelkovo	100	109	109
Ekibastuz	66	135	205
Elektrostal	139	153	110
Engels	161	182	113
Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk	140	157	112
Yakutsk	152	187	123
Yaroslavl	597	633	106

Detailed census data in a territorial cross-section on the distribution of population by sex, age, nationality, language, educational level, marital status, family size, living conditions, and other indicators are being worked up by the USSR Goskomstat and will be published in the series "Results of the 1989 All-Union Census" [Itogi Vsesoyuznoy perepisi naseleniya 1989 goda].

#### MVD Researcher Assesses Progress Against Racketeering

18000719 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA  
in Russian 27 Mar 89 p 4

[Interview with A. Gurov by Correspondent S. Yurakov: "Who Is Behind the Racketeering"]

[Text] On 14 January 1989 SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA printed the Ukase of the Presidium of RSFSR Supreme Soviet that was aimed at the fight against racketeering. The first results of the action of the ukase are discussed in a conversation that our correspondent had with Doctor of Historical Sciences A. Gurov, deputy department chief, All-Union Scientific-Research Institute, USSR MVD.

[Correspondent] Aleksandr Ivanovich, has the situation with regard to racketeering changed during the past two months?

[A. Gurov] With the enactment of the ukase, 51 special subdivisions that had already been organized in USSR MVD to combat organized crime began to engage in

identifying racketeers and bringing them to criminal responsibility. The criminal investigation services also became more active. And whereas previously, seeing the impotence of the law, the victims very rarely appealed to the militia, at the present time the statements have been coming in one after the other. As a result, in Moscow alone, by the end of January eight groups of racketeers were identified and 22 persons were arrested.

I would like to note that the victims' fears concerning retribution after they have turned to the law-enforcement agencies have not been confirmed. We do not know of a single instance of such retribution. The racketeers, having learning of the introduction of stern punitive measures, have become somewhat quieter, but they are nevertheless continuing to ply their criminal trade. They are adapting, using increasingly sophisticated methods for exerting psychological pressure and carefully organizing their crimes so as not to leave any evidence.

The action of the new ukase extends only to the territory of the RSFSR, and the racketeers have begun migrating to other parts of the country. Therefore, in the opinion of scientists and people in practical life, it is necessary as quickly as possible to introduce similar legislative acts in the other republics as well.

[Correspondent] We have been talking about racketeering, but the ukase mentions extortion. There is a slight shifting of concepts. How does racketeering differ from extortion?

[A. Gurov] It is not by accident that we use a foreign word. At the present time, everyday extortion has developed a new quality, becoming close to the form of the Mafia in the bourgeois world. The similarity here lies in the fact that the criminals have changed over from one-time extortion to systematic extortion. They actually have "gained in stature" by being supported by cooperative members. And now the racketeers are paid not only tribute, but people also pay them for "services rendered": protection against "touring performers"; the illegal acquisition of allocated materials; the sale of output. In this kind of "companionship" one sees the manifestation of the dangerous fusion of the cooperatives with the criminal groups and the introduction of professional criminals into economic relations.

A typical example of criminal activity is provided by the actions over a period of several years in Krivoy Rog by the group headed by Pesygalovets, who, incidentally, is a former nominee for recognition as a master of sports and a former Komsomol organizer. That group engaged with sophisticated cruelty in extortion, as well as muggings and the drug trade.

[Correspondent] Why has racketeering become so widespread recently?

[A. Gurov] Actually, today racketeering has become a fashionable specialization for the "greedy types," although just 20 years ago extortion did not exceed even one percent in the crime structure. The reasons for the rapid spread of racketeering in our time are the poor business practices, corruption, and thefts in the period of stagnation. The illegal income led to a noticeable division of the population into various segments on the basis of their standard of living, and gave rise to the money-grubbing fever. And it was that fever that caused the outburst of selfish crimes, because "la dolce vita," influence peddling, and nepotism were not even concealed. Rather, they were things to be proud of, and were presented as being proof of a person's knowing how to life.

And then the cooperatives were announced. Among honest, enterprising people, there also floated to the top, on the crest of a new movement from the depths of the shady economy, the "fat wallets." A rather large herd of underground rich men was legalized, and it is those persons who, because of their past or present semicriminal activities, do not take the risk of turning to the militia for help in instances of extortion.

And the racketeers take advantage of this. So it is not surprising that their ranks have been growing so rapidly. Moreover, this group of people is extremely variegated: schoolchildren, members of youth gangs, former athletes, and even military personnel. Three soldiers serving the prescribed tour of military duty were arrested, for example, in one of the rayons of Moscow Oblast in early March. They had been regularly demanding money from the chairman of a construction cooperative, by threatening to commit arson. But, without a doubt, the persons who dominate among the racketeers are the professional criminals. And other "riff-raff" cluster around them, feeling that racketeering is a safe and practically romantic trade, although, of course, they are very wrong about this.

[Correspondent] Speaking of romance, the racketeers frequently tell their followers, "We are helping the government to maintain social justice, by expropriating from the expropriators!..."

[A. Gurov] Of course it is convenient to cover over one's own greed by a veil of criminal bravado. But criminals have always been fascinated by a single "idea": accumulate the maximum amount of nonlabor income with the smallest risk. Because the cooperative members, finding themselves in conditions of a forced struggle against the bureaucrats, encountering a shortage of producer goods, and experiencing the displeasure of public opinion, sometimes are simply forced to break the law. The racketeers use such situations not only to justify themselves. They know that if they are caught "with their hand in the cookie jar," no one will report the extortioner, so that they themselves will not be exposed. That is why the cooperative members are picked more often with the aid of compromising materials.



From discussions with operatives and leaders of the criminal environment it is well known that criminals need no more than ten days to ascertain not only the financial status of the cooperative members, but also all their "sins." With the aid of prostitutes, the introduction of informers, almost professional surveillance, and interrogations, they "zero in" on even the most well-concealed wheelers and dealers.

**It is especially alarming that racketeering has become one of the basic items in the income of organized crime. The financial gain from extortion encourages the expansion of the Mafia's activity, and causes a real increase in the number of criminal gangs, and the increase in crime in general.**

Essentially speaking, racketeering today is the manifestation of the concealed growth of criminal communities that are seizing onto larger and larger spheres and territories of influence. But whereas previously the persons who demanded tribute were pickpockets, burglars, narcotics dealers, prostitutes, gamblers, and other "tiny Tims," at the present time, having refined the racketeering technology on the criminal small fry, organized crime has now penetrated the heart of society—the economy.

[Correspondent] Have I understood you correctly, that the fight against racketeering is not just a job for the law-enforcement agencies?

[A. Gurov] Actually, measures of only a legal nature have not been providing the sufficient effect. The militia, and law in general, can be only an important bulwark in opposing racketeering. Law by itself, no matter how strict it is, is powerless. The reason for racketeering is in the conditions under which the cooperative member, for example, can allow himself the luxury of supporting the extortioner. I think that whoever works honestly will not tolerate any racketeering.

Recently I happened to be talking to colleagues in the Czechoslovakian militia. We started discussing racketeering. And although the cooperative movement in Czechoslovakia became widespread there much earlier, there is no racketeering in that country. It turns out that, foreseeing the criminal consequences, the officials there showed concern first of all for the limitation of prices. The prices of output produced by cooperatives can exceed the state prices by no more than 30 percent.

What does this provide? There is no longer any temptation to gain an easy profit by inflating the prices, and the persons who become cooperative members are not the self-seekers and crooks who are greedy for ill-gotten money, but instead are real workers, and it is only people like that who can promote the satisfying of people's vitally important needs. I would like to say something that might sound paradoxical: in our country, the spread of racketeering was predetermined by the imperfection of the Law Governing the Cooperative System, that did not limit pricing. And the recent governmental decisions

to hold back prices will help to correct the warping that has occurred and to limit unearned superincome, and thus will remove—and I am convinced of this—some of the criminal foam from the cooperative movement.

But these are economic measures. It is my duty as a criminologist to emphasize that racketeering is a sphere of activity of organized crime. Confirmation of this is provided by its lightning-quick spread. Therefore it is useless to combat only racketeering. Racketeering is only one branch. It is necessary to eradicate organized crime as a whole.

[Correspondent] But what measures should be undertaken to combat it successfully?

[A. Gurov] The Mafia frequently commits crimes that are hard to prove. Therefore, in the opinion of the leading scientists in the field of criminology, it is necessary to expand the list of possible proofs of a crime. In particular, they can be motion-picture and still-photograph materials that are produced when conducting operational-investigation measures, as well as information obtaining by tapping telephone conversations. Of course, the use of the law for such actions must be possible only with the procurator's sanction after the initiation of a criminal case.

But from the ethical point of view, this is certainly as unreprehensible as the already legalized procedure of intercepting letters, which then are used as the basis for arresting a person. In all the highly developed countries where organized crime exists, the admissibility of using technical measures has been reflected in law and has been successfully employed for a long time.

We also need the effective—not just officially announced—protection of witnesses and victims, so that, for example, if a real threat arises, it will even be possible to relocate those persons, together with their close family members, to a safe place. Moreover, even the workers in our country's law-enforcement agencies themselves are provided with insufficient protection. Because last year alone 263 militia workers died, and dozens of them had been murdered by criminals. The best personnel in the law-enforcement agencies continue to be subjected to severe pressures. Frequently they are slandered with impunity by persons who want to avoid criminal responsibility, and they also suffer from persecution on the part of corrupted protectors of criminals. And all this remains unpunished. But in other countries the law is very strict with regard to encroachments on the life and the good name of those who are fighting the criminals.

It is only if the entire set of these measures is adopted that we will be able to speak of an effective struggle against organized crime and its offshoot—racketeering.

The draft of the Principles of Criminal Legislation that has been offered for discussion by the public poorly reflects the present-day criminal situation. Since it fails to take into consideration the existence of professional and organized crime, it requires major modification in that regard.

**Flaws in Character Defamation Law Examined**  
*18000721 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Mar 89*  
*Second Edition p 2*

[Interview with S.I. Gusev, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Court, by G. Ovcharenko, PRAVDA special correspondent: "For Honor and Dignity"; date and place not specified]

[Text] **"Respected editors! There were times when a man had to defend his honor and dignity in a duel. In our civilized society, this can be done in court. But, in my view, the law on the defense of the honor and dignity of citizens is not operating at full force and is not very effective. How to correct the situation? The answer to this question is extremely important if we are really creating a rule of law state.**

**[Signed] V. Asmolin, Moscow."**

With this letter began the discussion of PRAVDA's special correspondent, G. Ovcharenko, with the first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Court, S.I. Gusev.

[Correspondent] Sergey Ivanovich, many laws, adopted out the best motives of justice and humaneness, in actual fact have proved to be ineffective and unworkable. Such was also the fate of Article 7 of the Foundations of Civil Legislation, according to which citizens and organizations have the right to demand through the court the refutation of information which defames their honor and dignity. Only recently have cases of this category begun to appear in the courts.

[Gusev] First of all, I would like to recall that the securing of the protection of the good name of the citizen is a constitutional requirement. In Article 57 of the USSR Constitution, it is established: Respect for the individual and the protection of the rights and liberties of citizens are the rights of all state organs, public organizations and officials. And further it was emphasized that citizens of the USSR have the right to legal protection against infringements on their honor and dignity, their lives and health, their personal freedom and property.

However, during the periods of the cult of the personality and stagnation, many constitutional norms, including the one on respect for the individual, did not operate in actual fact. But now, during a time of the strengthening of democratization and glasnost, the situation is changing for the better. The defense, by citizens, of their honor and dignity in court is becoming the rule, and not the exception to it. In this is seen the guarantee that any

"operator", regardless of the post occupied by him, will now think three times before he will insult and infringe upon the rights and interests of "the little man."

Thus, in a work reference given to an official of one of the institutions, it is stated that he manifests rudeness, conducts himself unworthily, and distorts the facts in statements that are sent to various organizations. This information is undoubtedly defaming. Having reviewed the demand of the indicated official concerning their refutation, the Gagarin Rayon People's Court of the city of Moscow obliged the defendant to replace the reference, having excluded the defaming facts of the plaintiff.

[Correspondent] You said: The information, undoubtedly, was defaming. . . . But, you see, the law, as is well known, does not even establish an exemplary list of information which the court may consider defaming. The judges here act at their own responsibility and risk, they approach the circumstances of the case subjectively, is this not why there are still quite a few legal errors in the review of this category of cases?

[Gusev] I agree, there are difficulties here. Taking into account the difficult situation, the question of the application, in legal practice, of Article 7 of the Foundations of Civil Legislation was submitted at a plenum of the USSR Supreme Court. In the adopted decree, in particular, taking into account of the moral rules and legal norms, a general concept of the information defaming the honor and dignity of a citizen or organization in public opinion or the opinion of individual citizens was formulated. These, in particular, is information that lowers national dignity, about the perpetration of a dishonest action, unworthy action in the labor collective, in the family, etc. At the same time, naturally, in such information cannot be included statements about the improper conduct of a citizen that correspond to reality, fair criticism of shortcomings in work, conduct in public, in the collective, in private life. . . .

With a request for protection of honor and dignity, an interested person or organization has the right to turn to the court, and in the case that the defaming information is disseminated not only about him, but also in relation to a deceased member of his family or another relative.

[Correspondent] Many people, in particular V. Filatova from Vorkuta and P. Sidorova from Krasnoyarsk are interested in the following question: Does the concept of term of limitation extend to the demand for the defense of honor and dignity?

[Gusev] No, it does not. However, in legal practice, although rarely, such attempts have nevertheless been encountered. For example, the Frunze Rayon People's Court of Moscow discontinued the proceedings in a suit for refutation of defaming information published in a newspaper, which cited the fact that publication took place when Article 7 did not exist. By law, however, the

court is not granted the right to discontinue the proceedings in a civil case because of the lapse of the term of limitation. And, furthermore, demands for the defense of honor and dignity are not real [imushchestvennyy] demands, and the term of limitation does not extend to them. This was called to the attention of the courts by the plenum of the USSR Supreme Court in the adopted decree. Incidentally, it consists of 15 points, you cannot talk about all of them, for this reason I advise anyone to get acquainted with them in our legal publications and in the Bulletin of the USSR Supreme Court.

Persons who have permitted the infringement of the honor and dignity of citizens or organizations may bear criminal responsibility, for example, for insult and slander. As far as civil law responsibility is concerned, the court has the right to obligate the guilty person to refute the defaming information spread by him, make a public apology, and to replace the document if it (for example, a work reference) contains conclusions that do not correspond to reality. The law has granted the court broad initiative in the determination of measures to protect the honor and dignity of citizens.

If the defaming information was spread by a collegial organ, for example, the mass media, to report about this in the press, on radio and television. In the case of demands for the refutation of defaming information, set forth, for example, in work references, the responsibility is placed on the persons who signed them and on the enterprise, institution and organization, in whose name the reference was issued.

If material damage was inflicted through the spread of defaming information, the court has the right to place on the guilty person the obligation to make restitution for this damage.

[Correspondent] And with what does the non-execution of the court decision threaten?

[Gusev] Here, too, appropriate measures are stipulated by the law. In particular, in the case of the non-execution or the improper execution, with the established term, of the decision on the refutation of information defaming the honor and dignity of a person or organization that have turned to the court with such a request, a penalty from 200 to 1,000 rubles in income to the state is exacted from the violator. Moreover, its payment does not release the defendant from the obligation to fulfill the court decision.

[Correspondent] As practice shows, today almost every second critical statement of the mass media ends up in a statement of claim in court with a request to protect the honor and dignity of those being criticized. But, you see, journalists most often take information to the competent authorities—party and soviet authorities, and law enforcement organs. There are no reasons not to trust it.

Then time passes, it turns out that the information, to put it mildly, was unreliable, an action is brought against the newspaper. What is to be done in this case, who must bear the responsibility?

[Gusev] And even when facts were cited in a report that were obtained from official information, the obligation with respect to refutation of defaming facts in virtue of Article 7 of the Foundations is placed on the press organ. With respect to the persons who gave the mass media organ information not corresponding to reality, the court has the right to make a special determination concerning the application of appropriate measures of influence to them—disciplinary, public, etc. I admit that journalists may be dissatisfied with such a situation. . . .

[Correspondent] I should think so! Any refutation of a publication in a newspaper is an indication of the carelessness of the journalist who prepared this publication. But what sort of carelessness is this if he took the information, let us say, from the materials of a session of the party obkom buro, a session of the rayispolkom, or a court sentence. You see, he does not have a staff for the re-checking of information. But nevertheless it turns out that it is precisely the journalist who bears responsibility for the information, which before him was disseminated by other persons or organs.

[Gusev] Yes, there is a question here. I think that it should be solved in the Law on the Press that is being developed. And nevertheless, the present situation concerning the application of Article 7 corresponds to the 19th All-Union Party Conference Resolution "On Glasnost."

[Correspondent] Here it is difficult to raise any objections. But here the lawyers for some reason protected themselves against the operation of this norm of the law. You see, in the procedure provided for by Article 7, information contained in court sentences and decisions, decrees of the investigation bodies, and other official documents. Yes, it is clear that, for the appeal of these materials, another procedure is envisaged by the law. But it is incomprehensible why it is possible to bring to court any person for the use of this official information in accordance with Article 7, but those who originally disseminated—impossible? It turns out that the responsibility is borne, not by the person who insulted or slandered a man, but by the person to whom this defaming information was officially, I emphasize this word, transmitted for use, let us say, in the press. Is there not a paradox here?

[Gusev] At first glance, there is. But it has already been solved through legislation. For this reason, I cannot agree with you that persons, who have incorrectly solved or investigated a case, or have reported information not corresponding to reality, do not bear responsibility, quite to the contrary. I have already mentioned the measures being taken with respect to those who give out information that has not been checked. Moreover, judges bear

disciplinary and other responsibility for carelessness in work, for haste in the resolution of cases, and other lapses. And also the staff members of the militia, investigation, and other law enforcement organs. Moreover, in the refutation which must be made according to the court in the newspaper, for example, it should be stated who originally disseminated the defaming information.

[Correspondent] The real legal protection of the honor and dignity of the citizen is, without a doubt, a serious step toward a rule-of-law state. But you agree, Sergey Ivanovich, this norm of the law may be used by people who regard any, and even just criticism, directed at them as an infringement of their honor and dignity. Incidentally, the analysis of the judicial practice that already exists shows that the majority of the suits against the

mass media are unjustified. Should, in this case, the plaintiff bear responsibility, and if so, what kind of responsibility?

[Gusev] The materials of the cases studied confirm that, in the majority of cases, the demands for the refutation of information published in the press prove to be unjustified. In such cases, the judges have the right to exact a penalty from the citizen who turned to the court with an unfounded request for refutation of disseminated information, for the benefit of the person against whom the suit was brought, and the legal expenses borne by them in connection with their enlistment in the examination of the case. This measure is one of the effective practical means in the struggle against malicious litigation. If an unfounded suit is brought, the court, with respect to the declarant, be it a citizen or an organization, may make a special determination.

### MVD Publishes Republic-Level Crime Statistics

#### LaSSR Crime Rates, 1984-1988

18000628 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 17 Feb 89 p 4

[Unattributed report: "The Latvian SSR MVD Press-Group Reports: On Crime—Openly"]

[Text] Today we report data on crime in the Latvian SSR during 1984-1988.

	1984		1986		1988	
Total number of crimes	24,047	+18.6*	22,307	-7.2*	22,991	+3.1*
Serious crimes	3,678	+8.0	2,799	-23.9	2,606	-6.9
Murder	142	-9.6	99	-30.3	111	+12.1
Aggravated assault	311	+15.2	190	-39.9	199	+4.7
Rape	136	-2.2	112	-17.6	141	+25.9
Robbery	299	+10.7	184	-38.5	205	+11.4
Theft	1,354	+64.1	842	-37.8	857	+1.8
Theft of state, public property	2,710	+29.0	2,052	-24.3	2,290	+11.6
Theft of personal property	7,243	+63.4	7,094	-2.1	9,140	+28.8
Hooliganism	1,583	-0.3	1,446	-8.7	1,083	-25.1

\*In percent of previous period (+ is increase; - is decrease)

In 1988 42.3 percent of all reported crimes were committed in Riga, 38.3 in cities of republic subordination (Ventspils, Dauglavpils, Yeglava, Liyepaya, Rezekne, Yurmala) and 16 percent in rural localities.

Reductions in crime rates were noted in Ventspilsskiy, Yekabpilsskiy, Salduskiy, Ludzenskiy and Limbazhskiy rayons. However, there was an increase in crime in Rezekne, and Yeglava, and in Gulbensskiy, Rizhskiy, Kraslavskiy and Kuldigskiy rayons. In Riga the crime rate grew 10.1 percent.

#### BSSR Crime Trends Examined

18000628 Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIA  
in Russian 28 Jan 89 p 4

[BELTA report: "Statistics are Alarming"]

[Text] Last year there was a growth in the republic's crime rate. As Yu. M. Poselnikov, chief of the Belorussian MVD Organizational Inspection Administration,

reported, the law breaking rate grew by 0.6 percent. There was a halt to the drop in the crime rate observed over the past three years. There were 48 crimes per 10,000 inhabitants. There was a total of 48,700 crimes, 64 percent of which were against property, 25 percent against public safety and 8 percent against people. These statistics are lower than the country wide average.

There were negative changes in the composition of violations—they became more dangerous. The number of serious crimes grew by 16 percent. Of great concern are the the so-called aggressive crimes: premeditated murder, physical assault and robbery. Their figures are especially unfavorable in Gomel, Minsk and Mogilev oblasts and in the republic capital.

The reasons for violent crimes are increasingly due to personal relations and conflict situations. These are the grounds for 43 percent of all crimes against people. There were 583 reported rapes and attempted rapes.

More than half of the victims were girls under 18 and one third of the rapists were minors.

Theft is still the most widespread crime. Burglary accounts for 42 percent of all crimes. There were 4,400 cases of apartment theft.

There were increases in the theft and dismantling of privately owned automobiles. Last year there were 2,131 such cases. There is a protection problem here. Now only 113,000 autos and motorcycles of the more than 1 million registered are provided with cooperative garages and protected parking areas.

Motor vehicle accidents killed 1,408 and injured 7,430. Almost half the accidents were caused by drivers of private autos. Vehicle enthusiasts were responsible for 3,420 incidents. Motorcyclists were the most frequent violators of traffic regulations. They were guilty of 1,971 accidents.

Fewer people died from fires: 321 people in 1988 compared to 359 in 1987.

Suicide statistics are cause for concern, growing from 1,386 in 1987 to 1,406 in 1988.

Crime is a more serious problem in cities. While in 1987 cities and urban type settlements accounted for 56 percent of all crimes, last year it was 64 percent. The cities with the highest crime rates are Bobruysk, Osipovich, Borisov, Mogilev, Orsha, Polotsk, Smorgon, Vitebsk, Gomel, and the central district of Minsk.

Street crime grew by one-third. There was a reduction in public activities supporting order: The number of people's militia declining by 10,000.

Many crimes are committed by intoxicated people. This indicates a weakening of the struggle to prevent crime. There is still an acute problem of preventing crimes committed by people suffering from psychiatric disorders. There were 120 such crimes, including 15 murderers, 14 aggravated assaults, 3 rapes and 16 cases of malicious hooliganism. About 6,000 crimes were committed by previous offenders. This shows the persistence of crime. There was a growth in group crimes, where two out of three reported cases were committed by juveniles, most frequently young people who are not working or going to school.

The humanization of criminal policies is restricting punishment and reducing the number of prisoners. At the same time there is an increase in the number of individuals subject to public control. Although these changes have initially heightened social tensions and complicated the situation, they are evidence of general improvement.

### Usatov, Yusupov, Safarov Discuss Uzbek Law, Order Issues

183004323a Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian  
18 Jan 89 p 3

[Interview with Uzbek SSR Procurator D.A. Usatov and Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences Vice President E.Yu. Yusupov by PRAVDA VOSTOKA editor R.A. Safarov: "Let the Law Reign Supreme in Society"]

[Text] A discussion at PRAVDA VOSTOKA concerning the problems of establishing a state governed by law [pravovoye gosudarstvo] in our country and of observing socialist legality within the republic. Participating in it were the procurator of the Uzbek SSR, D.A. Usatov, the vice president of the republic Academy of Sciences, E. Yu. Yusupov, and PRAVDA VOSTOKA editor R.A. Safarov.

[R.A. Safarov] The ancients used to say that "justitia" (in translation, this word means justice) is the basis of the state... When reform of the political system began in our country, we ran up against the problem of legal reform, of which social justice should become the criterion. And it, this justice, should find its expression in legislation and in the system of justice.

The readers of PRAVDA VOSTOKA would be interested in learning your opinion on this score.

[D.A. Usatov] Restructuring presupposes a completely new, hitherto unknown "openness" [otkrystost] in socialism. Changes in the development of society itself raise anew the question of the need for a socialist state governed by law and for the creation of guarantees of the supremacy of the law, both in the activities of the organs of state authority and of social structures and for every member of our society. For this, it is necessary to revive the Leninist view of socialist legality as a universal value and a creative phenomenon of the new society.

For decades, we have been dominated by a one-sided view of the law as a coercive force. Without doubt, this also had an effect on the content of legality. Today we need to spotlight the positive principles of socialist legality as a starting point for social renewal. And in this connection, it will be necessary not only to recognize the juridical costs of Stalinism and of the period of stagnation, but to recognize as well the historical necessity of the realities that are now coming into being: emancipation of economic initiative, encouragement of social activism on the part of individuals and collectives, extension of political democracy, and enhancement of the legal status of the individual.

In connection with this, the thrust of procuracy oversight must be aimed at overcoming bureaucratic-command barriers, at defending the rights and freedoms of man, at realizing the fundamentally new concept that "everything that is not prohibited is allowed."

A socialist state governed by law presupposes the existence of fundamental normative and legal equipment. To a great extent, existing legislation is not in a position to guarantee the successful course of restructuring all facets of our society. We are all witnesses to and participants in the birth of many new all-union laws.

The law must become a guarantee of the stability of a socialist state governed by law, of the social comfort and protection of man.

Today, we are still a long way from this model. Still remaining outside the range of procuracy oversight are the social and cultural sphere, everyday services, and administrative practice, which is primarily based on norms which fail to stipulate the responsibility of officials to citizens. Almost 30 organs have been given the right to institute administrative proceedings and tens of thousands of people are being punished; at the same time, their legal interests are frequently being infringed, but the procurators do not notice these violations.

Therefore, the organs of the procuracy face the very complicated task of organizing universal procuracy oversight. Where the law operates, there should also be strict supervision of its observance.

[R.A. Safarov] In your publications, various facts concerning the activities of the procuracy organs and the courts have received a varied interpretation. The writers of letters coming to the editors point even to differences of view concerning the problems of justice.

We in the editorial offices perceive a sameness in their views. Is this so?

[E.Yu. Yusupov] We have a common point of view concerning the basic questions that have recently been discussed in the pages of the press and by the general public.

Various judgments have been expressed in the central and local press recently concerning my article "In Order to Take to the Air, A Bird Need be Proud," which was published in ZVEZDA VOSTOKA, No. 8, 1988. I must say that this article was abridged, and this was reflected in its content. Certain imprecise and unfortunate formulations were permitted in the article.

I give high marks to the enormous amount of work that the workers of law enforcement organs are doing to overcome phenomena of the period of stagnation and to expose managers who are wallowing in corruption. They have caused great harm to the republic and the people and have hindered successful solution of vital economic and social problems. Many of them have been arrested and deservedly punished. In this, too, we see a positive result of the activities of law protection organs. The struggle against the negative phenomena of the past still is not over. People who have come here to the republic from other regions of the country are providing a great

deal of help in this work. They have not only helped us, but have also themselves needed our help and support.

[D.A. Usatov] The principal idea of the modern vision of socialist society is humanism, the unification of socialism and democracy, a view of a future society where man emerges as "the measure of all things." It is specifically the democratic humanism of socialism, its "human measure," that we also have in view when we speak of a qualitatively new condition of society in a state that is governed by law as a result of restructuring. And on this plane, I am deeply convinced, there can be no contradictions with Erkin Yusupovich in our positions.

[R.A. Safarov] As is known, Marx and Lenin acknowledged the right of people to freedom of political and religious conviction. Now, forever, it is necessary to put an end to criminal prosecution of those who disagree with certain aspects of the Party's activities.

Every case of illegal search, arrest, and conviction must be looked upon as an extraordinary event [Ch P]. And workers of law enforcement organs, depending upon their degree of guilt, should bear disciplinary, Party, and criminal responsibility. What is being done on this plane by the republic's procuracy?

And one more thing. Let us recall the words of Lenin concerning the inevitability of punishment. Punishment should necessarily, inevitably follow every crime committed. How do things stand with regard to the detection of crimes within the republic, in particular in Tashkent? Why is the number of particularly dangerous crimes increasing? These questions are being asked in many letters from our readers.

[E.Yu. Yusupov] Dmitriy Aleksandrovich is certainly the best one to answer this question. I will only express a few ideas. In the materials of the 27th CPSU Congress it was stated that negative phenomena connected with over-reporting of performance and with large-scale thefts of state and public wealth have been permitted to occur in a number of parts of the country, but particularly in Uzbekistan. As events of recent years have shown, such facts have also been uncovered in other regions of the country. This means that a regional character cannot be ascribed to these negative phenomena. They are a result of neglect of the country's economic mechanism, of the rule of voluntarism and subjectivism in determining the tasks and prospects of socio-economic and spiritual development, of mistakes in the area of planning, which has been carried out without consideration of the real conditions and possibilities of individual rayons and regions. This has also been facilitated by the "initiative" of local managers who, striving to please superior managers, have resorted to over-reporting and deception and have been rewarded, without considering the consequences of their own adventurist initiatives. Ostentatious show and a mania for figures have reigned in our country, without consideration for their economic and social consequences.

The negative phenomena of the past have been manifested on a wide scale in Uzbekistan and have been uncovered with the help of a large circle of specialists from all regions of the country. For a number of years, Uzbekistan has been the principal, practically the only laboratory where all the types of negative phenomena from the period of stagnation have been studied. Well-substantiated conclusions have been drawn. The lessons of such "laboratory analysis" have helped to accelerate a clean-up, not only within the republic, but also the country. However, another extreme has also appeared. The newspapers are plastered with the terms "the Uzbek case" and "the Uzbek Mafia," which, naturally, is demeaning to the feelings, the honor and the dignity of people who have honestly created material and spiritual riches which are necessary to the country. As a result of their own lack of farsightedness, certain people have wanted to ascribe to this process a narrow regional and national coloration. I have spoken about this earlier. It is a good thing that PRAVDA VOSTOKA was the first to rebuff those who have wanted to clothe the crimes in Uzbekistan in national dress.

[D.A. Usatov] Recent publications have presented a sufficient amount of statistical information to characterize the scope of work being done on exposing criminal groups. However these are only the first steps. The struggle must be intensified.

Last year there was an increase in all registered crimes and particularly of such serious types as premeditated murder, premeditated serious bodily injury, robberies, thefts, and rapes. Almost every third registered crime is theft of state and the personal property of citizens. During recent years alone, more than 20 bandit groups have been uncovered. One of them, the Yakubov and Boloshin gang (a total 33 criminals belonged to it), committed 76 crimes within the republic from 1981 to 1985. Altogether, bandit groups committed 49 murders, nine attempted murders, 337 robberies, and about 2000 thefts of personal and state property.

Again and again, organized crime makes its presence known. Hired murderers and those who stand behind are not only a thing of the past, but also of the present. In Khorezmskaya Oblast, as recently as the end of 1988, one of the chairmen of a kolkhoz in Khankinskiy Rayon hired a murderer for 20,000 rubles. It was only thanks to measures that were taken that the crime was not carried out to a tragic end. In Kashkadarinskaya Oblast, a gang was uncovered that consisted entirely of militia workers.

Along with other measures in the battle against crime, it is necessary to fundamentally improve the quality of preliminary investigations. The prerequisites for this are being determined. In the very near future, the investigative apparatus will be reorganized. Investigation of the basic mass of cases will be concentrated in the investigative apparatus of the MVD, set up as an independent structural subdivision with access to the center.

The situation necessitates that we not weaken, but continue to increase our battle against crime, against the negative processes which right up to the present time are manifesting themselves first in one place and then in another.

There are still many people who, asserting that it is time to put an end to the process of exposure, to the process of self-purification, have not personally drawn object lessons for themselves.

It was only recently that the chairman of the Akkurgan city executive committee in Tashkentskaya Oblast, Marufov, was detained and arrested for taking bribes. The investigation established that, in most cases, Marufov extorted bribes from single mothers in return for a favorable outcome in obtaining apartments.

The crimes of recent years testify that there is still large-scale theft and manipulation in the procurement and processing of raw cotton. Just last year, cases were initiated involving this crime in Syrdarinskaya, Kashkadarinskaya, and Ferganskaya oblasts. A check is being made of a number of proceedings in Surkhandarinskaya and Khorezmskaya oblasts.

Nevertheless, I want to note that the situation has not developed satisfactorily with regard to the exposure of crimes. The Leninist principal of the inevitability of punishment is not working out as it should and this is one of the main reasons for the stability of the increase in crime within the republic. In Tashkent, for example, almost every fourth crime goes without being solved. Almost every second theft of personal property of citizens, almost every third robbery, every fifth premeditated serious bodily injury, almost every tenth murder, etc. has remained unsolved. The procuracy has submitted a number of statements and remarks to the leadership of the Uzbek SSR MVD regarding the poor organization of work in the inquiry and investigative sections.

However, the measures we have taken have so far had little effect. The main reason, in our view, is weak departmental control on the part of the directors of these organs, the poor quality of scientific and technical equipment available and services provided, and, most importantly, the low professionalism of investigative and operational personnel.

Success in solving any crime depends to a large degree upon timeliness and the skillful organization of work on "hot clues." At the same time, extremely serious mistakes and omissions and violations of the law are permitted specifically at the stage of preliminary investigation: illegal searches, detentions, arrests, biased indictments, and other violations of the law.

[E.Yu. Yusupov] There should be only one principle: Not a single guilty person should go unpunished, not a single innocent person should endure punishment. In my

opinion, both excesses and mistakes have been permitted in the heat of battle against negative phenomena. More than a few accused have gotten off because there has been no corpus delicti. I also wrote about this in my article.

[D.A. Usatov] I will give some figures. While, for example, in 1986, organs of the procuracy and of Internal Affairs and the court took 70 persons into custody without sufficient grounds for doing so, then in 1987 there were 14 and in the first half of 1988 not a single one. The same trend can also be seen in other questions concerning the observance of legality during the stage of preliminary investigation. And here we should consider that more than 60,000 criminal cases are investigated every year in the republic.

The Uzbek SSR procuracy is making a principled evaluation of violations of socialist legality.

[P.A. Safarov] Can you give specific examples?

[D.A. Usatov] Last year, 110 workers were called to disciplinary account for violation of socialist legality. Those called to strict disciplinary and party account were, now former, chief of the investigative unit of the UzSSR procuracy Laptev, UzSSR Procuracy investigators for especially important cases Shitov and Sizov, Bukharskaya Oblast procurator Matyushov, the chief of the investigative department of the same procuracy Sadirov, UzSSR procuracy investigation directorate procurator Erova, procurator of the Akaltynskiy Rayon in Syrdarinskaya Oblast Amanlykov, Sherabadskiy Rayon procurator Tuychiyev, and others.

The same year, 255 workers of internal affairs organs were given various degrees of punishment for such violations, among them 5 workers who were subjected to criminal prosecution.

The main reason for unsubstantiated criminal prosecution of citizens and other violations of the law lies in the low professional level of investigative and procuracy personnel. Every third investigator within the organs of the procuracy, for example, has been working there not more than three years. Approximately the same picture is to be seen in internal affairs organs.

Therefore, we see as one of our main tasks today the training and retraining of personnel, the raising of the level of their professional qualifications. We are working in various ways to do this. And, also, I think that we should set store by the cadres that are leading the struggle against crime, because we have a difficult job ahead of us.

[E.Yu. Yusupov] In my view, some of the mistakes and shortcomings in the work of law enforcement organs are a result of several reasons. First of all, this pertains to the level of training given jurists in higher educational institutions, especially in the law faculty at Tashkent

State University. We need to think seriously about improving the forms and methods by which personnel are trained for the law enforcement organs. In the second place, a large number of young workers, lacking sufficient qualifications to handle complicated criminal cases, have entered law enforcement organs in recent years. Many trial mistakes are connected with the poor quality of preliminary investigation. In the third place, during recent years, a large number of specialists have been brought into the republic to work in the law enforcement organs, some of whom have had a weak knowledge of local conditions and of the character of the situation which developed during the years of stagnation. This also has had a definite influence on certain mistakes. In the fourth place, workers of the law enforcement organs are frequently being criticized in the pages of the press, while their painstaking and noble work remains in the dark.

[R.A. Safarov] And what would you say about strengthening the ties between science and practice?

[E.Yu. Yusupov] I also sense a note of criticism in this question. And this is justified. We still have not worked out such a connection. Together with the organs of the procuracy, we intend to conduct scientific and practical conferences in the republic's oblasts on questions of theory and practice and of improving legislation and law and order. These measures will provide a double-edged benefit. This is especially important because, right now, a deep-going analysis of the law is being made in our country and measures are being determined for a transition to a socialist state governed by law.

[R.A. Safarov] Speaking at the UN at the end of last year, M.S. Gorbachev set forth the concept of creating a world commonwealth of states governed by law. This is of an importance that cannot be estimated, a qualitatively new position. We are talking about building a world without violence. And this can be achieved only when, in each country, laws will be passed that are above the state, with the creation of an effective mechanism of control and for ensuring the rights, freedoms and interests of citizens, of protecting their honor and dignity. It is necessary to establish a legal and political standard of society, which for us, in particular, is still missing.

I think that perfection of Soviet legislation and of the practical activity of law enforcement organs must take the path of increasing protection of people's rights, so that there will be a reliable guarantee of this protection. There is still much to be resolved in this matter. At PRAVDA VOSTOKA, we are thinking particularly about how to give better coverage to questions connected with protecting the rights of man. We are inviting jurists, scientists, literary and artistic workers, and all the working people of the republic to speak out on these questions in the press. With this, it is necessary to proceed from the fact that a state governed by law will become strong only if it permits criticism of itself, of its institutions and officials.



And one other necessary condition: Everyone should be equal before the law. Political rights and freedoms should be recognized for each person. We should not conceal the fact that, with all the ideological aspirations of our society, there are people who think otherwise. But they cannot be considered as alien, as "second-quality" people. There cannot be any discrimination with regard to them.

And, at the same time, it is necessary to intensify the fight against corruption, against unconstitutional acts, against all violations of the law. The law should be sacred to all. And this, in my opinion, has become abundantly clear today.

**Editorial Postscript:** During the discussion, questions were raised concerning improvement of the activities of MVD organs, the courts, and the Bar, of increasing their role and authority in the life of society. In connection with the creation of a socialist state governed by law, one item on the agenda is universal juridical education, which should encompass all levels of the population, all personnel.

Thus, we are talking about restructuring the legal training of the population. Here, as they say, there is virgin ground for work. In schools and higher educational institutions, jurisprudence is not held in high regard, textbooks are lacking, and instruction is carried out in an extremely unsatisfactory way. But, indeed, workers of the procuracy, the courts, arbitration, the Bar, all jurists could be drawn into this important and honorable work. Managers of all ranks should know the basics of law in general and especially of labor law. There is not enough legal literature. Codes are in short supply. The State Committee on Publishing, the Academy of Sciences, and the republic's publishing houses should make their authoritative voices heard here.

The editors of PRAVDA VOSTOKA have decided to conduct several meetings involving the participation of leaders from the MVD, the procuracy, the Supreme Court, the Ministry of Justice, the Bar, the Academy of Sciences, soviet and other interested organizations in our republic.

#### **Officials Review Perceived Weaknesses in Uzbek Legal System**

*18300432b Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian  
19 Feb 89 p 2*

[UzTAG report: "Justice and the Court: Problems of Restructuring"]

[Text] At an expanded session of the Uzbek SSR Ministry of Justice collegium and the republic's Supreme Court presidium, an examination has been made of last year's work results and the problems of justice institutions and the courts of Uzbekistan in restructuring their activities in light of present day requirements. Invited to participate in the session were directors and leading specialists from the Ministry of Justice and Supreme

Court of the Karakalpakskaya ASSR, from justice administrations, court organs, the Bar, notaries, and civil registry offices [ZAGS] in the oblasts of Uzbekistan, and representatives of the UzSSR Procuracy and Ministry of Internal Affairs.

In the reports and addresses, it was noted that the processes of restructuring political and socioeconomic life and of establishing a state governed by law, now taking place in the country, are leaving a perceptible mark on the entire character of work that is being done within the republic to ensure legality and law and order and to defend and safeguard the legal interests of citizens. Organizational measures that have been taken have contributed to a definite positive shift in the timeliness and quality of examination of court cases and to energizing legal activity within the national economy, to a strengthening of ties with labor collectives, and to improvement of legal services extended to the population and of general legal education. Legal education and prophylactic work aimed at preventing violations of the law has become more purposeful.

At the same time, as was emphasized in the course of discussion, restructuring is still being carried out slowly in the activities of court organs and the organs and institutions of justice within the republic.

The peoples, oblast and equivalent courts are being too timid in overcoming negative phenomena that have accumulated during the years of stagnation, such as the uncritical attitude taken toward the results of preliminary investigation and the reduced priority being given by the courts to evaluating the legal and evidential force of materials and cases under examination. Tendentiousness, prejudice, and accusatory bias are still frequently seen, statements by defendants and witnesses concerning violations of the law are not being given due attention in the course of investigations, and factual situations are being investigated in a superficial way. This leads to a repetition of investigative errors, to cases of incorrect qualification of crimes and of unjust assignment of punishments and, sometimes, to the conviction of innocent people. The apparatus of the courts still is insufficiently self-critical in assessing its work, the organizational role of court collegia, presidia, and members is being depreciated, and little attention is being paid to the dissemination of positive experience and to improving the forms and methods of training, of educating personnel.

Serious complaints were made about the Bar at the session. The presidia of Bar collegia are not ensuring that a full measure of legal assistance is being extended to citizens, enterprises, and cooperative organizations. There are cases when lawyers are declining to represent the sides in the most complicated civil cases. The annual per capita volume of assignments performed by lawyers in the republic is several times lower than the average for the country. The work of state notarial offices is being restructured slowly. As formerly, eighty percent of this consists of witnessing copies of documents. At the same

time, the relative share of contract notarizations and other important legalization activities is growing at an unsatisfactory rate.

The organs of justice, the speakers said, are still having little influence on increasing the effectiveness of legal services within the national economy, especially in the solution of questions related to carrying out the USSR laws on the state enterprise and on cooperation, to developing economic accountability and cost recovery, to strengthening contract discipline, and to ensuring the safe-keeping of socialist property. In the solution of these and other questions, the ties and interactions of justice organs with juridical services in local areas and with state arbitration and procuracy organs are clearly inadequate. Also absent are adequate ties with labor collectives, which reduces the level of prophylactic work for prevention of violations of the law.

Propaganda of Soviet legislation is not always being conducted purposefully and little initiative is coming out of the justice organs and the courts with regard to draft legislation activity aimed at solving urgent problems which are being posed by restructuring of the republic's political and socioeconomic life. Fundamental improvement is required in work on the selection and education of personnel, on improving their professional training. Many speakers stressed that material and technical support of courts and justice organs and institutions remains very weak, that managers are not devoting sufficient attention to questions of improving this, and that they are not demonstrating persistence in their solution.

Based on the results of the discussion, a resolution was passed in which specific ways to eliminate shortcomings are designated and the first-priority and long-term tasks in restructuring the work of the republic's organs and institutions of justice and courts are defined.

#### **Armenian Procurators Review 1988 Performance Shortcomings**

18300436a Yerevan *KOMMUNIST* in Russian  
7 Feb 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "In the Armenian SSR Procuracy"]

[Text] An expanded session of the Armenian SSR Procuracy's collegium has taken place, in which city and rayon procurators participated. Questions of the struggle against crime and procuracy tasks in the area of relationships between nationalities were discussed and the work results of the republic's procuracy organs during 1988 were summed up.

The state of struggle against crime, its prevention and detection, and the observance of legality in relationships between nationalities were critically analyzed.

Note was made that procuracy oversight still has not become an effective social mechanism to ensure protection of the constitutional rights and legal interests of citizens, their security, and the strengthening of legality, particularly under conditions of aggravated relationships between nationalities.

An aggressive struggle is not being waged against organized crime in the economic sphere, against corruption, theft of socialist property, and other mercenary crimes. The collegium demanded that city and rayon procurators fundamentally restructure procuracy oversight of the activities of BKhSS services, criminal investigation, and the State Motor Vehicle Inspectorate.

Particular attention was devoted to the approval of measures aimed at ensuring law and order in the natural disaster zone and to strengthening procuracy work in the struggle against thefts of state and personal property and other negative phenomena.

Note was taken of the unsatisfactory work of the republic's enterprises, organization and supervisory organs in implementation of environmental protection legislation and of shortcomings of procuracy oversight in this sector.

Weak use is being made of criminal law and procuracy powers in the struggle against report padding, production of low-quality products, and failure to meet delivery obligations.

Armenian SSR Procurator V. Nazasryan and deputy procurator of the USSR V. Titov addressed the session.

The following took part in the work of the collegium: L. Saakyan, first deputy chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers; A. Gevorgyan, chairman of the republic supreme court; S. Mailyan, a deputy department head in the Armenian CP Central Committee; L. Alikhanyan, Armenian SSR first deputy minister of justice; Yu. Kazaryan, deputy chairman of the Armenian SSR KGB; and G. Grigoryan, deputy minister of the Armenian SSR MVD.

#### **Internal Affairs Minister on Armenian Crime Statistics**

18300436b Yerevan *KOMMUNIST* in Russian  
19 Feb 89 p 3

[Interview with Armenian Minister of Internal Affairs U.S. Arutyunyan by ARMENPRESS correspondent: "Greater Effectiveness in the Struggle Against Crime;" date and place of interview not given]

[Text] A correspondent of ARMENPRESS has asked the Armenian SSR minister of internal affairs, Major General U.S. Arutyunyan to respond to several questions concerning the dynamics of crime and the struggle against it within the republic.

[Correspondent] Recently, the central press published a series of articles about the activities of the MVD organs and, for the first time, crime statistics for the country have been made public, which is related to increased glasnost and democratization of society.

Do you think that publicity of such data will help to further increase the responsibility of MVD employees for their assigned work?

[Arutyunyan] Without doubt. Periodic familiarization of the population with the problems which confront MVD organs will be of fundamental assistance in our work, will increase vigilance among the population, will have a beneficial effect on the state of preventive work, and will contribute to stronger ties with the public in carrying on a joint struggle against negative phenomena.

[Correspondent] At a USSR MVD briefing that took place on 14 February of this year, data was made public on the state of crime in the USSR during 1988. What have been the results of the fight against crime within our own republic?

[Arutyunyan] On the whole, despite the complexity of the problems that are being resolved, that we ran up against last year in defending public order, work results for 1988 indicate that crime overall has been reduced by 12.3 percent or 889 cases.

Specific steps been taken to protect law and order in the disaster area, to ensure the safety of road traffic, and to protect state property and freight which is arriving as assistance to the suffering population, as well as for fire protection of national economic installations. At the present time, the situation in the rayons within the disaster area is fully under our control and the number of crimes is declining.

[Correspondent] Statistical data for the country indicate the presence of a number of serious problems in the struggle against crime. What is the situation in this regard as far as we go?

[Arutyunyan] Although we too are undertaking energetic measures to restructure law protection activity, the level of organization of the struggle against violations of the law and anti-social manifestations does not correspond to the demands that are being presented today.

In 1988, the crime rate came to 182 crimes for every 100,000 persons. It is true that this is 3.5-fold less than for the country as a whole, but this is not a cause for self-complacency.

In 1988, 3200 felony crimes were committed within the republic, which is 11.5 percent more than in the previous year. The increase in premeditated murders by 31 cases, or by 52.2 percent, is a cause for concern and the number of grave bodily injury cases increased by 43.1 percent—by 47 instances.

The intensity of our battle against property crimes has not diminished. Thefts of state or public property increased by almost 50 percent, 121 instances, and the number of thefts of the personal property of citizens increased significantly—166 cases or 19.6 percent.

Among the infringements against personal property, a special place is held by thefts from the apartments of citizens, which grew by 17.1 percent, or by 72 cases, in 1988. Preventive work with regard to theft and robbery also did not go well.

[Correspondent] Is preventive work with adolescents going successfully?

[Arutyunyan] The steps we are taking together with Party, soviet, and Komsomol organs and pedagogical collectives are having a positive influence on the general state of law-violation prevention among adolescents. However, although there was a general reduction in the number of crimes committed by adolescents by 1.3 percent and although their insignificant relative share of all crimes—2.9 percent—is insignificant, 191 adolescents were criminally prosecuted in 1988. The number of adolescents in the ages of 14 to 17 years who committed crimes increased by 18.6 percent, by 30, including 16.3 percent, or 7 persons, who are studying in general education schools. The books of the internal affairs organs list 1663 adolescents who require increased attention and the joint effort of families, schools and labor collectives. Unfortunately, there are still many instances when adolescents are being drawn into criminal activity. It needs to be stated that, last year, adolescents took part in 56 group crimes and that 17 of the adolescents called to criminal account were repeat offenders.

[Correspondent] As has become known, street crime has increased throughout the Soviet Union. What can you say about the activities of our militia in the struggle against crime in the streets and other public places?

[Arutyunyan] The results are not so encouraging. Although the MVD organs have sufficient forces and means, the effectiveness of the struggle against law violations on the streets remains low. The number of such crimes increased from 234 in 1987 to 433 in 1988. Nineteen premeditated murders, or one quarter of their total number, were committed in streets and squares. The number of grave bodily injuries increased by more than 100 percent, from 22 to 53, and there were 115 cases of hooliganism, which accounted for 26.5 percent of all street crimes. The struggle against drunkenness and alcoholism cannot be considered to be on a sufficiently high level. In 1988, almost one in every ten felony crimes was committed in a state of intoxication.

The contribution of the public to the solution of these problems remains weak.

[Correspondent] Under conditions of perfecting the economic mechanism, of shifting over to full cost-accounting and self-financing, the problem of ensuring the protection of socialist property assumes special urgency. What steps is the MVD taking in this regard?

[Arutyunyan] It should be noted that we have developed and are implementing appropriate measures to improve the professional level of BKhSS workers and precinct militia inspectorates and, on a timely basis, to identify and interdict channels for theft and other malpractices, based on economic and legal analysis of the activities of various sectors of the national economy and on complex solution of questions related to the prevention of professional and economic crime.

During the past year, we prevented 257 planned and prepared mercenary crimes and we uncovered a number of large-scale thefts and instances of bribe-taking, and speculation disguised as business.

However, in carrying out this work, there is no sense of uncompromising and aggressive struggle against dangerous manifestations of derivation of unearned incomes and camouflaged group misappropriation.

In comparison with 1987, 41.6 percent fewer cases of misappropriation of socialist property were uncovered while the activeness of the struggle against bribe-taking declined by 49.1 percent and against speculation by 41 percent.

[Correspondent] What is the situation with regard to incidents in road transport? What is being done to increase the fight against accidents?

[Arutyunyan] In 1988 there was, in fact, no reduction in the number of road-transportation incidents; there were 1212 in 1987 and 1212 in 1988. The severity of road accidents remains high—404 persons died in 1987 and 399 in 1988.

In this connection, we have developed additional measures to increase the responsibility of state automobile inspectorate (GAI) personnel for the state of affairs in areas where they serve, to implement more effective ways of preventing road accidents, to increase the demands being placed on the directors of motor vehicle transport enterprises for the accident level, and to intensify the struggle against drunkenness on the road. Drunkenness behind the wheel continues to be a serious problem. Thus, during the past year, 5545 persons were arrested for driving under the influence and of these, 150 drivers were repeat offenders.

[Correspondent] Tell us, are the indicators you give us concerning the struggle against crime realistic ones, do they correspond entirely to the existing state of affairs?

[Arutyunyan] We have taken constructive measures recently to ensure completeness of our reporting, registration and resolution of reports and communications from citizens concerning crimes and to strengthen control over the state of this work. Without even considering so-called latent crime, when MVD organs are unaware that a crime has been committed, it cannot be excluded that there are also cases when crimes are going unrecorded. During 1988, on the basis of facts we uncovered regarding the concealment of crimes, 23 MVD workers who allowed this to happen were severely punished, removed from their positions and fired from the MVD.

We have taken the course of decisively eliminating such phenomena and of removing workers who besmirch the lofty calling of MVD employee. In the course of 1988, 231 employees were fired for cause and a number of rayon internal affairs department [ROVD] chiefs and their deputies were removed from their supervisory positions.

[Correspondent] What do you consider most important in solving the problem of intensifying the struggle against crime at the present stage?

[Arutyunyan] To put it briefly, the basic element of our activity is to increase the level of preventive work, the priority given it throughout the entire sphere of law enforcement activity and in all directions of the struggle against crime, to give it a purposeful, aggressive character.

We should use all available methods and means to ensure an uncompromising struggle against organized crime, corruptive elements and groups.

[Correspondent] Excuse me, I want to interrupt you here. Can you not give a specific example of the struggle against organized groups of criminals?

[Arutyunyan] We are only taking our first steps in the struggle against corrupt officials. There are already some results. Thus, in January and February, as a result of exploiting operational data, we uncovered a group active in the Armenian office of the USSR Savings Bank and a number of its rayon offices. Using their official positions, these criminals were extorting large bribes from their clients for providing loans and other services. On the basis of the facts, a criminal case was initiated and 7 persons were arrested. An investigation is being carried out.

We see our task to be in the all-round strengthening and strict observance of socialist legality, in imbuing our personnel a respectful attitude toward the working people and the protection of their rights and interests, and in strengthening control over reporting and registration discipline. Reliance in our work on the public, on labor collectives, expansion of the sphere of openness concerning negative phenomena, improvement of legal propaganda among the population, and broad utilization for

these purposes of the potentials of the mass information media—this is the demand of the times.

We must persistently improve work with the cadres, must improve the Party's political influence in the matter of ensuring that our personnel are exemplary in fulfilling the obligations which have been placed upon them, and must struggle to create a healthy moral and psychological climate within our collectives.

**Kazakh SSR MVD Minister Knyazev on Militia, Organized Crime, Corruption**

18300460 Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA  
in Russian 28 Feb 89 p 4

[Interview with G. N. Knyazev, KaSSR Minister of Internal Affairs, Lt Gen of the internal service, by M. Bayzhanov and S. Stepanov, correspondents of KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA: "The Militia in the Light of Glasnost"]

[Text] The questions of KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA correspondents are answered by the republic minister of internal affairs, Lt Gen of the internal service, G. N. Knyazev.

[Correspondent] Grigoriy Nikiforovich, what processes to deepen democratization and glasnost are now taking place in the system of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the republic, what concretely new things have been introduced in its work?

[Knyazev] First of all, I will note that restructuring in the organs of internal affairs is closely connected with the revolutionary transformations that are now taking place in the country. This makes it incumbent upon all who guard the law to show high responsibility for the execution of their official and public duty and with all their strength to promote the renewal of Soviet society and the strengthening of law and order.

In assessing our work from these fundamental positions, we must say that the tempo of the restructuring of operational-official activity still lags behind the positive processes in the social life of the republic that are gathering force. In many sub-units of the militia, the inertia of the old thinking, the stagnation, conservatism and stereotypes have not been overcome. For this reason, in the consistent expansion of democracy and glasnost we see the chief condition of the formation of the employee of the new type, capable of thinking in terms of the state, being able to see the profound political meaning in his activity in defense of the interests of the state and the legal rights of Soviet people.

We are striving to strengthen broad publicity in the promotion of workers to leading posts, and in the formation of the cadre reserve. Reports of district inspectors at meetings before the population are being practiced, and of the workers of the State Automobile Inspection—in the collectives of automobile enterprises.

In a number of cases, because of the impartial recalls of workers, we had to part with those who are not able or do not want to work in the new way. All in all, during the past 2 years, as a result of the certification, more than 2,000 employees were acknowledged as not being fit for the post occupied by them and for this reason they were dismissed from the organs or transferred to less responsible units. They were replaced by young, promising officials.

We attach great significance to the expansion of our relations with the workers, to interaction with them in the fulfillment of law enforcement tasks, and to an open discussion of problems of the struggle against crime. The ministry takes a stand firmly for the development of an honest dialogue with the population. Thus, in a number of oblasts, a survey in the labor collectives was conducted. The objective answers made it possible to look at ourselves through the eyes of the workers, kolkhoz farmers, the inhabitants of towns and villages, to determine precisely the dimensions and the places of concentration of all the negative that needs to be eradicated.

[Correspondent] Not long ago, as is well known, a decision was taken concerning the declassification of statistics concerning crime in the country and the struggle against it. For the first time, previously secret figures were given for all types of crime. Please comment on these data for the republic.

[Knyazev] At present many speak and write about the fact that the struggle against crime is not at the proper level. And this is natural—in the course of the restructuring underway in all spheres of our life, people do not want to accept the fact that they may be held up, they may be outraged, and in so doing the criminal can still go unpunished.

However, for the sake of objectivity it should be noted that the complex of law enforcement and preventive measures being implemented has been conducive to the reduction of the overall crime in the republic during the past 3 years, including its grave types, by 15.5 percent. Fewer premeditated murders, rapes and manifestations of hooliganism were committed.

At the same time, it proved impossible to strengthen and develop the process of the consistent reduction of crime. During the past year, the total number of crimes committed in the republic increased by 1.5 percent and exceeded 100,000. Especially disturbing is the increase in the number of grave types of crime—by 5 percent, as well as the increase, by 20.5 percent, of thefts of state property, and by more than one-third—of personal property of citizens. Of almost 30,000 thefts of personal property, thefts from apartments constitute one-third.

As previously, hard drinking is a significant influence on the state of crime. During the past year, almost every third crime in the republic was committed by persons in the state of intoxication. An in Kochetav, Semipalatinsk,

Kustanay, North Kazakhstan oblasts, and in the city of Alma-Ata, more than 70-80 percent of the murders are committed precisely on the ground of hard drinking, and the greater part—in apartments and private homes. During the New Year holiday alone, more than 20 murders were committed in the republic on this ground.

In spite of the measures being taken, the home-distilling of vodka is acquiring increasingly large dimensions. In 1988, with the assistance of the public, more than 16,000 home-distillers were ascertained, and more than 200,000 liters of home-distilled vodka, home-distilled beer, and other home-brewed alcoholic beverages were removed.

According to the results for the year, there has been a significant increase in the number of minors who committed crimes. Among them there has been an increase in the stratum of students of schools and vocational-technical schools, and especially those not engaged in work and study. There has been an increase in their group crime, and more adolescents have been arrested in the state of intoxication.

[Correspondent] Organized crime, corruption, large thefts, bribes, noisy "cotton" and other affairs. . . . Alas, today these ugly negative phenomena have become a reality. What is the picture here, how is the struggle against them being conducted?

[Knyazev] Today we are forced to state with great regret that the long hushing up of the facts about the true state of affairs and their levelling have given rise to a multitude of problems, including the problem of organized crime. Our republic, too, is no exception in this regard.

As has already been reported in the press, in 1988 a gangster group was exposed in Alma-Ata, consisting of Mozhayev, Soluyanov, Nemchin, and others, who committed a number of murders and robbery attacks. Their goal was the seizure of monetary assets by any means.

Earlier, in 1986, also in Alma-Ata, a large organized crime group was exposed, whose leader was a certain Chivanin. As the investigation showed, the members of this deeply hushed-up group, before committing the next crime, carried out a great deal of intelligence work, developed and played different combinations. In the course of the investigation, facts were brought to light of the collusion of the participants of this group with some officials of the law enforcement organs, who have also had criminal proceedings instituted against them. This group basically committed crimes that have now come to be designated as "racket." They selected a victim; as a rule, these were well-to-do people, all sorts of "operators," they extorted money from such people. More than 60 crimes were committed, and about 20 criminals were sentenced in the case. In Chimkent Oblast, the leading officials of a number of farms and rayons chose the road of padding the cotton production reports, with the consequent theft of money. At the present time, these crimes are being investigated by an investigation group

of the Procuracy in the republic Ministry of Internal Affairs. Other big crimes have also been brought to light in the sphere of the economy.

Measures are being undertaken by the Ministry of Internal Affairs that are aimed at the timely reaction to and the suppression of manifestations of organized crime.

Talking about "rackets," it should be noted that those who are the victims, as a rule, practically do not turn to the law enforcement organs with statements about the perpetration of such crimes against them. This, of course, makes the struggle more difficult and does not make it possible to take timely and effective measures to prevent and expose such crimes.

[Correspondent] At present, one of the most painful points is the theft of state and personal property. What prevents raising the struggle against thefts to the level that is required?

[Knyazev] It is necessary to specify that in the republic, in 1988, 9,319 thefts of state and public property and 29,189 thefts of personal property. To ascertain the criminals, considerable efforts are necessary. In all large city departments of internal affairs, investigation and operative groups have been created, which include experienced officials of the criminal investigation and other services. At the same time, the growth of the number of thefts of both types significantly outstrip our resources.

What prevents the creation of a barrier to the crimes here?

For 10 years already, an order by the republic Council of Ministers has been in effect concerning the certification of storage facilities for material values. Twice terms have been designated for the completion of this work, which should be accompanied by the technical fortification of the facilities, excluding fires, thefts, etc. But the departmental organizations do not carry out the instructions of the leading organs.

Thus, to this day, 24 percent of the facilities are technically not fortified and at times are without any protection at all, including every third municipal service and Ministry of Health enterprise, about half of the enterprises of land reclamation and water resources, assembly and construction organizations, and culture. Especially bad is the picture in the enterprises of the system of the Kazakh Union of Consumer Cooperatives and the Ministry of Trade. All in all, the sum of losses from thefts comes to more than 1.6 million rubles. Having exposed the reasons and conditions conducive to thefts, our employees have sent to the party, soviet and economic organs 6,134 statements, but up to now there is no desirable reaction to them.

To prevent the theft of personal property, it is necessary to secure entrance doors and expand the network of garages and parking places. But up to now, only 56

percent of the personal transportation in the republic is provided with parking. The questions of the establishment of alarm systems in the apartments of citizens are being solved slowly, everywhere the doorways of houses are open. To all our representations in regard to these questions, the housing operating offices and the ispolkoms of the local Soviets cite the absence of means and a material base. There is an experiment in the creation of cooperatives for the protection of the quarters of citizens in Alma-Ata and Dzhambul. But their work is in the making.

[Correspondent] How effective is the work of the special sub-units for the struggle against drug addiction and prostitution?

[Knyazev] I will at once make the reservation that we do not have any special sub-units or even employees specializing in the struggle against prostitution, as we do not have criminal laws prosecuting this phenomenon. In the worse case, a woman caught in engaging in prostitution will pay a penalty of 50 rubles. But there have been few such cases brought to light in the republic. We do not believe that in Kazakhstan the question of prostitution is acute. There are quite a few cases where women enter into unscrupulous relations, but this is more relevant to the sphere of ethics and morality.

But drug addiction is a serious problem for Kazakhstan. Behind the drug addicts "couriers" drift into our republic from many regions of the country. During the past year, more than 4 tons of narcotics were removed by our officials, more than 2,500 persons had criminal proceedings instituted against them for the illegal storage, transportation and sale of narcotics, 430 sick drug addicts were registered for compulsory treatment, and almost 2,000 persons were punished through administrative measures for the non-medical use of narcotics.

At present, 10,500 persons using drugs are in the register of the organs of the militia. We believe that the work of our officials specializing in the struggle against drug addiction is conducted sufficiently actively. But, as in any business, there are shortcomings and omissions. We analyze them carefully and try to eliminate them.

[Correspondent] How is the work of the internal affairs organs being planned in connection with the well-known Ukase on the regulation of the holding of meetings, processions, and gatherings of citizens?

[Knyazev] In the conditions of the expansion of democracy and glasnost in all spheres of life and the growing public activeness of citizens, the adoption of the Ukase was a necessity of the legal regulation of the interrelations of the state and various informal associations, among which, along with positive ones, there are also groups of an anti-socialist orientation. Democracy does not mean permissiveness. As long as a law is in effect, it should be implemented. Politeness and responsibility must be mutual.

The internal affairs organs must secure public order and security. In connection with this, special sub-units of the militia are created. Such a sub-unit also exists in Alma-Ata. Its functions also includes the conduct of explanatory work among the participants of meetings and demonstrations.

During the past year, with the permission of the local Soviet organs, meetings were held in Alma-Ata, and in Alma-Ata, North Kazakhstan, and Chimkent oblasts. They were held without violations of the public order.

[Correspondent] According to some assessments, there are still exist cases of the betrayal of the interests of the service by some officials and their "collaboration" with the criminal world. What is the Ministry of Internal Affairs doing in connection with this for the improvement of its ranks, the improvement of the professional composition of cadres?

[Knyazev] Let us look at things soberly. The militia is not a system that is isolated from society. And as long as there will be rudeness and boorishness, corruption and crime in society, we will encounter such phenomena also in the internal affairs organs.

A person who has put on the militia uniform does not cease to be a bearer of a certain system of value orientations and purposes, views and habits. And for the time being there is no instrument in any department, including the Ministry of Internal Affairs, that permits, like an x-ray, to illuminate the soul of a candidate for the service and to expose moral defects.

Unfortunately, there are cases of the institution of criminal proceedings against some militia officials for the perpetration of crimes. For example, during the investigation of the crimes committed by Mozhayev's gang, an employee was ascertained who several years ago sold cartridges to one of its accomplices. An official of the State Motor Vehicle Inspectorate participated with the Chivanin group in a number of crimes. A check is being conducted also with respect to a number of other reports about criminal actions of militia officials. The extremely ugly manifestations of the betrayal of the interests of the service, naturally, have called forth the necessity of the development of urgent measures. The longterm program for the improvement of the selection, placement and training of cadres, and the consolidation of socialist legality, approved by the collegium of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, has become a result of the search for ways of checking the corruption of cadres.

[Correspondent] The leadership of the Ministry of Internal Affairs has repeatedly announced a substantial reduction in reporting. However, in practice the lower subdivisions—the rayon and city departments—are compelled to submit reports and information to the court, the procuracy, and the party and soviet organs. This leaves little time for effective work. Will the situation change here in the near future?

[Knyazev] Unfortunately, the former system of administration of the city and rayon organs has taken in quite a few elements of formalism, bureaucratism, and red tape, their collectives have proved to be connected with a multitude of instructions, orders, and red tape-reporting documents. At present we are resolutely breaking up this worthless practice—more than 1,500 obsolete orders and instructions have been abolished, and a statute on the city and rayon departments of internal affairs has been developed. During the past year, we have sent 17.8 percent fewer circulars of various kinds to the subordinate subdivisions, but nevertheless their number is still large. There is also a reduction in the circulation of documents, including to party and soviet organs, ministries and departments.

[Correspondent] You have headed up the KaSSR Ministry of Internal Affairs for more than 3 years. How do you personally assess the work of the apparatus of the ministry and the oblast administrations during this time? Have you succeeded in realizing all the ideas and plans?

[Knyazev] In its majority, the inter-national detachment of the Soviet Kazakh militia consists of soldiers of law and order who are devoted their work. In the past few

years, they have repeatedly confirmed their professional mastery. The fact that at the present time there is not a single undisclosed grave crime that has received great public resonance speaks for itself.

At the same time, without belittling the merits of the basic part of our officials, it should be said that it necessary for many of our employees to work actively on their political, cultural and professional training. This characteristic shortcoming is also observed in the comments of the population on the work of the militia. Almost one-third of the citizens surveyed named rudeness, indifference, the low level of general culture, and professionalism as the basic shortcomings. So that to speak of the realization of everything contemplated is premature for the time being.

I add that I and my colleagues are very disturbed by the technical equipment of many of our subdivisions and the office and housing conditions of our personnel in a number of oblasts of our republic. We are searching here for internal reserves and we are also counting on the support of the local Soviets. These and other problems that were the subject of discussion represent no end of work.



**ESSR CC Journal Editor Defends Controversial PRAVDA Article**

18000679 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA  
in Russian 23 Feb 89 p 3

[Article by L. Annus: "Speaking About Glasnost—Openly..."]

[Text] "Dear Editor, The collective at our association has nominated for election as a USSR people's deputy L. Annus, editor in chief of the magazine KOMMUNIST ESTONII. I feel that he will cope with the difficult duties of a people's deputy. Would it be possible for the newspaper to discuss our candidate, his election platform, and his understanding of the problems. [Signed] Yu. Savelyev, engineer, Elektrotehnika NPO.

**Today the newspaper gives the floor to Lembit Annus.**

I was nominated for election as a USSR people's deputy by the worker collective at the Elektrotehnika Association. And I think about that with deep pride and appreciation. Because I myself was a worker. And I have never forgotten that. I still remember the atmosphere of the construction site and the days of hard work.

My father also was a worker—for his entire life, except for the three war years, when, together with the Estonian Rifle Corps, he trudged along its difficult combat roads. And he remained a worker—not only in his mind, but also in the position he took. And I too, as his son, feel that I am among my own kind of people when I am in a worker collective.

I do not know whether I will be elected deputy. But I do know that I am ready to devote all my efforts to the cause of perestroika. Because I believe in it, I believe that it is necessary. Because I want to see people living well in my republic, in my city.

Recently I have been asked many questions as a result of the publication of my article in PRAVDA. I have also been reading quite a bit about myself on the pages of various republic publications. And I must admit that I have been learning much that is new about myself. People write that the purpose of my writing the article was to prevent my being fired from the position of editor, inasmuch as, during a six-year period, I had succeeded in completely ruining my own magazine.

People also suspect that, with the aid of the article, I wanted to force my way in as a deputy or to occupy some other position. For some reason they fail to see one thing—my genuine alarm concerning the fact that, as a human being, as a Communist, and as an Estonian, I cannot fail to be upset by certain phenomena that are occurring in my beloved Estonia. I am called an agent, a traitor, and practically everything else. Recently I even read that I work in the KGB and that Academician G. Naan was my commander (the reason was that I had

defended him on the pages of the magazine). I receive threatening letters. I have also received telephone calls warning me of reprisals.

Well, I am not afraid of threats. I used to get threats before also. My little daughter was also killed when, as a member of a Komsomol operational detachment, I fought speculators in currency and commodities. But there is something else that depresses me and saddens me deeply.

Much is being said nowadays in our republic about the flourishing of democracy, and about how, in this sense, we are already far ahead of the other republics. We speak about our people's tolerant nature, about its culture that goes back many centuries, and about democratic traditions. But where is that culture, where are those traditions, if, as a result of one word spoken by an opponent, one word that, as it were, jumps out of the common chorus, people are ready, as a minimum, to discredit him and chase him off the rostrum, or, as a maximum, let him rot in jail? Because the voices on the telephone have been hinting at specifically physical forms of reprisal.

How, then, will we move ahead, develop democracy, and build a rule-of-law state, if we cannot rid ourselves of the habit of slapping political labels on people, of discrediting opponents by every possible means, which frequently are remote from elementary decency, without even attempting to listen to what he is saying?

I have been accused of sweeping my dirt out into the street [i.e. washing dirty linen in public]. But is it really better to leave that dirt in the house, to sweep it under the carpet, to fail to notice it until it completely takes over? Academician M. Bronshteyn, in one of his recent articles, expressed the fear that the truth expressed on the pages of the central press would worsen our economic position. As he said, there are very few people outside the confines of our country who would want to have dealings with an unreliable partner. "Especially," the honored academician wrote, "if we announce ahead of time that we will transfer to Estonian ownership all the enterprises on its territory." Because isn't this what all the discussion has been about? Hasn't this fact been discussed broadly in the republic? But does the academician mean that it is necessary to conceal it, to operate, as we used to say when we were children, "sneakily," to be a reliable partner not in deeds, but only in words? Stating it plainly, this is not a very convincing explanation. And it will not be a very decent position that all of us will have in this instance. Don't you agree that this is so?

Incidentally, in my article I mentioned things that are much more serious—political positions and attempts to replace our spiritual values with dubious ideas and judgments. The upsurge of national self-awareness is a completely regular and natural phenomenon. But why is it that the wave of national feelings frequently rises higher than the political and party positions?

For a very long time it has generally be felt that an Estonian, by his nature, is serious-minded, meditative, and sober, that he always attempts to see and reflect on various points of view in order to choose the one that is most correct. But the problem lies specifically in the fact that various points of view have been practically nonexistent recently on the pages of our republic press, despite the all-encompassing judgments concerning the need for the broad pluralism of opinions.

We need democracy and glasnost as we need the air to breathe. But there is something else that is obvious. We all need constructive glasnost. We all need to learn how to live and work under conditions of democracy. And this is not a slogan. It is not simply words. It is the essential, vitally necessary requirement of our time. Many of us, in our own lives, have sensed that this is necessary. But, stating it bluntly, we frequently forget the main thing: both democracy and glasnost must serve the cause of reinforcing socialism, the revolutionary cause of October. They must promote a situation in which everyone begins to live better.

In recent time a very great deal has been done in our republic. As a Communist, as a human being, as a scientist, I cannot fail to rejoice when I see many "unexplored areas" being discussed, when many of the bitter, grave pages in our history are revealed and re-evaluated, when rehabilitation restores their good names to the innocent victims of Stalinist terror and of informers and slander. I see in this a pledge that everything terrible that our nation had to endure will never be repeated.

Nevertheless... Haven't we seen appearing in our press various articles whose authors, using our self-critical nature in evaluating the road that has been traveled, our dissatisfaction with what has been achieved, our striving to do more and to do better, have been attempting to play on all of this, to cast aspersions on the merits of socialism in general, or on its rightness in Estonia? I listen to poeticized reminiscences about the bourgeois republic and I think: for some people those 20 years were indeed a period of milk and honey, but for others they were a period of political trials and death sentences. Do we really have the right to forget that? Yes, those years were a period of milk and honey, but certainly not for everyone. One could probably find a rather large number of people who could talk about that time in terms of historical reality.

I read on the pages of newspapers: "...The Soviet authority was established in Estonia by the bayonets of the Red Army soldiers." And yet there are still among the living dozens and hundreds of people who *themselves* participated in those events—both in the restoration of the Soviet authority in 1940, and in the liberation of the republic in 1944. Those people include I. Khendrik Allik, Dmitriy Kuzmin, Paul Kuusberg, Arnold Meri, Endel Sygel, and many others. Why, then, do we not want to listen today to them also? Academician E. Pyall

definitely did not receive any congratulatory telephone calls on his eightieth birthday—he received threats. Pyartelpoeg, who fought in the war, who built Lezvaka, who did many things for his rayon, but who now is old and sick, is today not allowed to leave his house. And Vyru—all for the same reasons.

Recently a certain well-known public-affairs commentator whom we know read an idea which corresponds more than anything else to the present situation: isn't it a pity that the reconsideration of history frequently is not accompanied by any great moral improvement. Actually, the knowledge of facts and dates is indubitably expanding, but there is no impression that there is a simultaneous growth in the historical enlightenment, which is equivalent in a certain sense to social literacy. Many people are simply lost. They cannot interpret or evaluate the new facts, phenomena, or dates correctly. Isn't it here that we find the roots of this kind of intolerance?

I think that a large amount of the blame also lies with the ideas expressed by our social scientists. Because we have arrived at this grave crisis largely because of the fact that our social-science and economic thinkers remained silent. For many years they produced only what was required of them, making no attempt to analyze, interpret, or forecast. For decades the historians and social scientists wrote commentaries, and cited quotations. But now...

Is it really necessary for one untruth to be replaced by another untruth, or for one half-truth to be replaced by another half-truth? Is it really necessary to repaint everything from white to black, or vice versa? Because the world and history thus lose their multicolored nature, their diversity.

One can see, even by the unaided eye, that certain of our scientists say what is expected of them, what people want to hear. Once again it is a game with only one goal post, and now it is only at the other end. But where is the historical truth, albeit bitter and stern, but extensive, where is truth in all its dialectic nature?

I admire the economists. They actually engage in work. Here too, of course, there are one-dimensional approaches. But as a whole the economics currently are engaged in real research. They analyze. They discuss. But where are the discussions in our social sciences, in our historical science? Where are the attempts to analyze the facts or the past events from the point of view of historic reality?

It might be that one could actually get along without articles sent to PRAVDA or other central publications. Probably it really is better to analyze everything by oneself at home. If all of us want to do this. Without

prejudice, without snubbing others, without putting labels on people. Without malice. If we do not forget the party positions, adherence to party principles, the need to make party evaluations in our everyday tempestuous life during the days of perestroika.

With the large number of various social movements and groups, with the large number of the most varied programs, it is necessary to carry out a greater analysis of their basic idea and content. It is necessary to argue, to convince, to explain what is good and what is bad. Why do we Communists remain silent about the program of the so-called party of the national independence of Estonia, a party that is frankly oriented toward secession from the Soviet Union? Why do we not give an evaluation to the program of the "1988 Democratic Movement"? The extremist groupings are not embarrassed to discredit the party openly, to use all the difficulties that we are experiencing to blame the party for everything that has already been censured by the party. I think that the inactive position taken by many Communists, by many party organizations, is linked precisely with the lack of such evaluations.

Whenever I speak at labor collectives, I am asked about my election campaign. I always answer: I view the socialist pluralism of opinions as one of the necessary conditions for renewing society, provided there is decisive, well-argued criticism of any anti-perestroika, antisocialist statements and actions.

If I am entrusted with a deputy mandate, I will fight to carry out the party's overall political program.

I am in favor of an effective economy as being the best policy. Because behind that explosion of interethnic passions that we have all been observing recently one can discern the main factor—a clump of unresolved and very difficult economic and social problems. Therefore I feel that there is no alternative to IME. And therefore the main thing is the changeover of the republic to economic self-government and complete cost-accountability. I also include here the resolution of such questions as price regulation, labor rates and payment, and financial and credit policy within the limits of the national income being produced.

I see a very important task in putting an end to the arbitrariness of the central ministries and departments, to excessive centralization, and to the methods of administration by bureaucratic fiat, that do not take into consideration the economic and natural peculiarities of Estonia or the other union republics. I feel that it is necessary to have the integration of the union enterprises within the republic's national economic complex. I see in this a very important condition for implementing the principles of republic-level cost accountability.

A large number of complexities in interethnic relations have arisen in our republic. But we must understand it is impossible to resolve all our national problems by one

wave of the hand. It will be necessary to learn how to live with them and how to improve the situation gradually, on the basis of reciprocal compromises. In my opinion, the first-priority attention must be devoted to creating the real conditions for assuring that all the nations and nationalities live in the best possible manner on the territory of Estonia and that their national uniqueness is revealed in the most complete and brightest way.

I am convinced that the deputies must take more dynamic and more persistent steps to defend the interests of the groups of the public which are, as yet, least provided for and socially unprotected—young people, families with several children, retirees, and disabled former servicemen and workers. I feel that it is necessary to introduce into the system a permanent cost of living adjustment for pensions, scholarships, and other payments, to take into account the increase in prices and to guarantee that people are provided with a real minimum subsistence income.

And finally the ecology—our pain, our suffering. We will have to do a lot of work and will have to achieve much if we want to defend our environment against barbaric and predatory annihilation.

All these questions are closely intertwined. But, most importantly, they pertain to each of us, irrespective of our nationality, occupation, or age. And therefore, whenever I happen to speak, I will ceaselessly repeat: the resolution of all the economic, social, interethnic, and ecological problems confronting our republic is possible only on the basis of the consolidation of all the social and national groups and segments of the population on the program of perestroika that was developed by the 19th All-Union Party Conference, and by the 11th and 13th plenums of the Estonian CP Central Committee.

I believe in this with all my heart.

**Estonian Party Budget Expenditures Detailed**  
*18000748a Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA*  
*in Russian 15 Mar 89 p 4*

[Unattributed report: "Party Assets and their Expenditure"]

[Text] In the course of reports and elections in the republic party organizations as well as in the press, a request to discuss the Estonian CP budget. Taking this into account, the Estonian CP Central Committee Administration of Affairs is making available data on deposits and expenditure of resources in the party budget.

The main source of income for the party budget of the Estonian CP are party membership dues. In 1988 they were planned at 9.4 million rubles; actual receipts equalled 10.1 million rubles. This became possible in connection with the fact that the majority of communists pay their party membership dues on time and based on

the total wage. At the same time in 13 party organizations indebtedness in party membership increased. The percentage of unpaid dues was especially high in Kokhtla-Yarve city and Byruskiy and Raplaskiy rayon party organizations. This situation attests to low party discipline and to the non-fulfillment of regulation requirements.

Paid party membership dues in 1988 financed all organizational and political activities of the Estonian CP. For this 9.6 million rubles were earmarked and a total of 8.4 million rubles have been spent. Planned expenditures constituted 95 percent of the received membership dues, and actual expenditures equalled 83.2 percent.

These sums were used to support 25 party gorkoms and raykoms and central committees, discharged workers and workers of 354 primary party organizations, 77 political education study centers (of these 53 are in primary party organizations); the consultation point of the Leningrad Higher Party School, courses for soviet and ideological cadres; the Estonian CP Central Committee Institute of Party History, and two affiliates of the university of Marxism-Leninism.

A significant portion of the party budget was directed at facilitating the operation and development of the material base for the party committee and party institutions. Seven million rubles were expended for this purpose, or 82.6 percent of all expenditures. Of this amount 4.7 million rubles consisted of expenditures for the support of party committees, including economic, as well as support of discharged workers of primary party organizations. For financing the operations of party institutions and mass political work 0.4 million rubles have been spent. Expenditures for the training and retraining of party, soviet and ideological cadres comprised 58,000 rubles. In 1988 expenditures for the upkeep of the apparatus of the Estonian CP Central Committee, support of its economic operations and assignments, the carrying out of plenums, meetings and other measures comprised 1.2 million rubles or 14.7 percent of total expenditures from the party budget.

Expenditures for the maintenance of the Estonian CP Central Committee Institute of Party History equalled 160,500 rubles.

Expenditures for the building of objects for party committees and for the Estonian CP Central Committee Publishing House, the repair of party committee and party institution facilities as well as residential building equalled 1.4 million rubles.

The estimated cost of the Estonian CP Central Committee House of Political Education, completed in 1988, comprised 4.1 million rubles from the party budget. The estimated cost for the construction of a building begun for the Tartu party gorkom and raykom is 1.4 million rubles.

Last year the party committees and party institutions of the Estonian CP took measures for the careful and proper expenditure of assets from the party budget. This facilitated the fact that the expenditure portion of the party budget was implemented by 87.6 percent. Estimates of expenditures for the support of party committees and party institutions have been carried out with a savings in practically all items—in the estimate 133,800 rubles were earmarked for economic expenditures, and throughout the entire budget there was a savings of 1.2 million rubles. Fewer planned allocations were expended for office needs, telephone payments and inter-city discussions. At the same time as compared to 1987 expenditures for worker trips increased; throughout the Estonian CP Central Committee—by 9.2 percent and in village party raykoms—by 12.4 percent.

Underexpenditures as compared to estimates of expenditures occurred basically because of the existence of vacant positions and because building organizations did not fulfill their building plans.

#### **Estonian National Groups, People's Forum Reprove 'Intermovement'**

*18000748b Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA  
in Russian 11 Mar 89 p 1*

[Appeal by the Council of the Estonian People's Forum and the National Cultural Societies]

[Text] All of us, representatives of people of different nationalities living in Estonia who have joined our fate to it, are concerned about the internal political situation in the republic.

We emphasize that we do not agree with those for whom internationalism was and as before remains a synonym for great-power policies and ideology. The Intermovement has made the perpetuation of this kind of internationalism its slogan. This movement considers the process of renewal in Estonia and national rebirth, which were the foundation for the new party course, a step away from socialism. This essentially untruthful and reactionary thesis is being used for an open struggle against the Estonian CP and the republic's government.

We criticize any attempt to slander the people, to present the struggle of the people for the restoration of historical justice and national self-determination as a striving to encroach upon the interests of other peoples and nationalities.

We are turning to the leaders of the Intermovement and to the Joint Council of Labor Collectives with the urgent request to calm down and to soberly assess the ethical aspect of their position. We feel that a rejection of confrontation would only give you honor. In deed this would attest to your generosity and internationalism.

The organization of political meetings with an extreme direction on the party of any political forces in unworthy of people who are striving toward the values of a society that puts man first.

The Council of the Estonian People's Forum and the National Cultural Societies confirms their support for the course of the 11th Plenum of the Estonian CP. We call upon all non-Estonians in Estonia to show solidarity with us. It would be unforgivable to endanger Estonia on the soil of an artificial and irresponsibly inflated national question.

[Signed] V. Dudarenko, E. Leysson, Kh. Sheyn; and by representatives of national cultural societies: Armenian—A. Shaumyan, Estonian Swedes—M. Limbak, Izhorsk Finns—R. Pakki, Jewish—S. Lazikin, Estonians living in other republics—E. Nugis, Lithuanian—D. Tarmak, Latvian—Yu. Putrinsh, Tatar—S. Timur, Hungarian—I. Ban, Belorussian—V. Chizhik

**Charter of Latvian International Front Adopted**  
18000699 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian  
16 Feb 89 p 2

[Charter of the International Front of the Latvian SSR Working People“]

[Text] The International Front of the Latvian SSR Working People (Interfront) is a voluntary social organization created at the initiative of the workers with the goal of consolidating the healthy forces of society and activating the population of the republic in the cause of restructuring, which has been begun and is being carried out at the initiative and under the leadership of the CPSU.

Interfront unites within its ranks workers, peasants, the intelligentsia, employees, pupils and students, and the non-working part of the population, irrespective of their nationality and racial group, party affiliation and religious convictions.

Interfront recognizes the guiding role of the CPSU within society, considers the party to be the political center of restructuring, acts independently, democratically, and in conformity with the constitutions of the USSR and the Latvian SSR, with all-union and republic legislation, and with the Declaration and Charter of Interfront, and cooperates with Party, soviet and other state organs, with labor collective councils, and with social and sociopolitical organizations and societies which have goals and tasks in common with Interfront.

**I. Basic Tasks**

1. Improving the living standards of the population and defending its social interests.

2. Ensuring further free development of each national and ethnic group in Soviet Latvia, strengthening friendship and cooperation based on the equal rights of peoples and on the principles of internationalism.

3. Contributing to achievement of Latvian SSR economic independence within the framework of the unified USSR national economic complex.

4. Protecting the environment and combatting ecological pollution.

5. Effectively struggling against bureaucracy and extremism, social injustice, manifestations of Stalinism, chauvinism, nationalism, anti-semitism, and other forms of ethnic enmity.

6. Protecting the dignity and rights of citizens of any nationality in accordance with international and Soviet legal acts.

7. Developing the ethnic self-consciousness of all the peoples of Soviet Latvia with consideration for the need to improve their political, legal, economic, and ecological standards.

8. Perfecting socialist democracy and ensuring glasnost.

**II. Basic Forms of Activity**

1. Organization of social measures directed at solution of the most important national economic, ecological, cultural and other problems of the republic and active participation in these.

2. Development of proposals concerning topical questions of political and socioeconomic life and concerning draft laws and other normative acts and submission of these to Party, legislative and other state organs as well as to social organizations.

3. Preparation and presentation of constructive proposals regarding draft documents submitted for nationwide discussion; nomination of candidates and participation in electoral campaigns for elections to soviets of peoples deputies at all levels.

4. Participation in referendums, holding of meetings, debates, public opinion polls, social-political and cultural events.

5. Participation in charitable activities.

6. Provision of information to the republic's population concerning the activities of Interfront via the press, radio and television and through publication of its own press organ.

### III. Participating Members and Supporters

1. Any resident of the republic who has reached the age of 14 years, who observes the Charter and recognizes its Declaration, and who takes part in achievement of the goals and solution of the problems of Interfront may become a participating member in Interfront.

2. Citizens who wish to become participants in Interfront join one of its organizations at their places of work, study or residence.

3. Ethnic and cultural, professional, religious, cultural and other societies as well as associations and unions of war and labor veterans, and the like, which are registered in accordance with established procedures may be collective participants in Interfront.

4. Persons who wish to contribute to solution of the tasks of Interfront but who, for one reason or another, have not become participating members in it, may collaborate with it as supporters and are joined together in support groups.

5. Interfront's youth groups unite persons of from 14 to 18 years of age and delegate their own representatives to Interfront councils [soveti].

6. A participating member of Interfront has the right to elect and, having achieved adulthood, also to be elected to any organ of Interfront; to participate in all events conducted by it, to discuss questions of its activities, to introduce proposals, openly to express and defend his own opinions, to organize events which are consistent with the Charter and the Declaration of Interfront, to criticize at meetings and congresses any participant in Interfront; to turn with questions, statements and proposals to any directing organ of Interfront, and to receive answers with regard to the essence of questions that are posed; to enjoy the legal and other protection and the assistance of Interfront.

7. A participant in Interfront has the right freely to leave the organization, having made a statement to this effect to the primary organization where he is registered.

8. A participant in Interfront can be removed from participation in the work of Interfront for violation of its Charter, for nonfulfillment of its Declaration, for attempts to sow inter-ethnic discord, for demonstration of bureaucratic administrative style in work, for suppression of criticism and persecution because of it, and for activities that bring disgrace to Interfront.

The question of removal of a participant is decided by a simple majority of votes at a meeting of a primary organization of Interfront.

9. A member of a rayon or city council can be removed from participation in the work of Interfront or relieved of a position he occupies in the council by a meeting of representatives of the primary organizations of a rayon or city or by the republic council.

10. For actions that are unworthy, a member of the republic council may be relieved by the council of his functions as a member of the council before a final decision has been approved by the congress.

11. In the event that a participant in Interfront is charged with criminal liability, he is relieved of his obligations within Interfront. The question of his continued participation will be reviewed after the court's decision on his case has been presented (and a sentence becomes legally effective).

### IV. Organizational Structure

1. Interfront is organized on a production and territorial basis. It is based upon primary organizations which are established at places of work or study where not fewer than three participating members of Interfront are present. Primary organizations can also be established at places of residence of Interfront participants.

2. Organizations which number from 3 to 10 Interfront participants elect their director by open vote at meetings for a term which is determined by the meeting.

3. Organizations which have more than 10 Interfront participants elect by open vote a council of the organization, a chairman of the council, and a treasurer who can be reelected at any regular meeting. The meeting determines the numerical composition of the council.

The council of an Interfront primary organization organizes its work in accordance with the Declaration and the Charter and informs the meeting of the organization and superior organs concerning its activities and expenditure of monetary funds.

4. Upon the decision of an Interfront council, groups of participants may be established on the basis of structural subdivisions at enterprises and within sovkhoses, kolkhozes, institutions, scientific research institutes and educational institutions. By open vote, a meeting of the group elects a group director for a specific term which is agreed upon by the group.

5. For the purpose of organizing and coordinating the activities of primary organizations and of carrying out rayon-wide Interfront activities, rayon councils are established within rural rayons (and in the city of Riga—within urban rayons) and in cities.

City or joint city (rayon) Interfront councils may be established for the same purposes within cities of republic subordination.

Representatives to the council are elected at general meetings of the primary organizations in accordance with norms of representation established by them or the corresponding council.

A session of the city (rayon) council elects a chairman, who is the official representative of the corresponding Interfront council, a treasurer and an auditing commission. The council has its own press and bank account. It regularly advises primary organizations and the republic council of its activities.

The rayon (city) councils hold rayon (city) meetings and conferences, register newly established primary organizations and dissolves those in which a majority of the participants do not fulfill the Charter or the Declaration of Interfront. A decision by the rayon (city) council regarding the dissolution of a primary organization can be appealed to the republic council of Interfront.

The primary organization may approve decisions regarding the recall of their representatives from city and rayon councils and the election of new ones.

6. The supreme organ of Interfront is the republic congress, which is convened once a year at a time designated by the republic council. An extraordinary congress is convened at the demand of one of the members of the republic council or one third of the total membership of rayon councils and primary organizations.

Delegates to the republic congress are chosen at city or rayon conferences in accordance with norms of representation established by the republic council of Interfront.

7. Congresses, rayon (city) conferences, meetings of primary organizations, as well as Interfront councils on all levels, have the right to approve decisions if more than half the delegates (participants) are present at them.

8. The republic congress of Interfront:

- approves decisions relating to the establishment and disbandment of Interfront;
- approves the Charter and Declaration and introduces changes to them;
- discusses and approves basic directions of activity;
- elects by open vote the republic council, which must include representatives of each rayon (city) council;
- hears reports of and evaluates the activities of the auditing commission and of the responsible editor of the press organ.

Decisions are considered approved if not less than two thirds of the delegates participating in the work of the congress have voted for them.

9. The republic council functions in periods between congresses and examines and decides questions of Interfront's activities other than those questions which fall within the competence of the congress.

A presidium consisting of up to 10 persons is elected by open vote from among the members of the council.

Sessions of the republic council approve:

- the chairmen of standing commissions;
- the responsible editor of the press organ;
- regulations concerning the activities of the presidium and the standing commissions;
- decisions of the presidium reached between sessions of the council;
- an attribute [atributika], which can be manufactured and sold only with the consent of the council.

In the name of Interfront, the republic council introduces proposals to Party, state, and social organizations concerning draft laws and decision of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet; makes statements and inquiries concerning urgent questions of social life; establishes business ties with the directing organs of state, political and social organizations in connection with questions of joint conduct of various activities; and determines the direction of its own economic activity and the composition of management and technical personnel and allocates funds for their maintenance. In order to carry out their activities, rayon, city and republic councils of Interfront may accept citizens for employment within their management apparatus and as technical personnel in accordance with labor legislation.

When necessary, the council requests the approval of republic and all-union ministries for the formation and activities of special Interfront social commissions for the study (perfection) of methods of providing medical, everyday and transportation services to the public and the operation of industrial enterprises, cultural and educational institutions, and corrective labor facilities.

The republic council meets in session as necessary but not fewer than four times a year and approves decisions by majority vote, if not less than two thirds of the members of the council are taking part in its work.

Through the press, radio and television, the republic council advises Interfront participants and the population of the republic concerning its work and the decisions it has made.

In the name of Interfront and on the basis of the Interfront Declaration and Charter and the decisions of its Congress, members of the presidium of the republic council present proposals in state organs, institutions, and also social and socio-political organizations.

10. The Latvian SSR International Front of Laboring People, its city and rayon organizations, have the rights of a juridical person.

11. Interfront reserves for itself the right to apply for protection in court, law protection, and other state and social organizations in instances of:

—dissemination by individual citizens, organizations, or their representatives of fabrications concerning its activities;

—insults and degradations of the honor and dignity of a participant in Interfront by word, writing or deed:

—utilization without its agreement of its name, financial assets and property:

—manufacture and sale of an attribute.

12. The Presidium of the republic council is its leading organ and functions between sessions of the council. The members of the presidium are official representatives of Interfront.

Sessions of the presidium are held as needed and their decisions are effective if they are approved by not less than a two-thirds vote of the members of the presidium.

#### V. Property and Financial Assets

1. Interfront has its own property and financial assets, which are kept in bank accounts.

Councils on all levels in their capacity as juridical persons bear material responsibility for the results of their activities.

The principle source of material and financial assets are voluntary payments by participants in Interfront—by enterprises, institutions, cooperatives and individual citizens; funds collectively earned by participants in Interfront; and funds from cooperatives which have been established by Interfront. Financial assets may be deposited in the bank accounts of rayon or republic councils in the name of Interfront [pod devizom]. Their utilization is permitted only upon direct instruction (in Interfront's name).

2. The size of voluntary monthly payments from participants in Interfront is established by a meeting of the primary organization. On the decision of the primary

organization, a portion of the funds is transferred to the budget of rayon, city and the republic councils of Interfront and the remaining funds are utilized by the primary organization.

3. The material and financial assets of Interfront are utilized in support of organizational, economic and other activities.

4. The republic, city and rayon councils, by their own decision, may establish monetary compensation for members of the presidium, chairmen, and also for members of permanently functioning commissions.

5. The right to execute financial documents to the chairman and treasurer of rayon and city councils. At its first meeting following a congress, the republic council selects from the membership of the presidium authorized agents who, along with the treasurer, have the right to sign financial documents.

6. The financial activities of republic, city and rayon councils of Interfront are overseen by an auditing commission elected by the congress.

The financial activities of primary organizations of Interfront are supervised by the auditing commissions of the rayon councils.

*The Charter of the International Front of the Latvian SSR Working People was approved at a constituent congress of Interfront on 8 April 1989.*

#### Sakalauskas on Local, State Understanding of Regional Khozraschet

18200205a Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian  
18 Jan 89 pp 1,3

[Interview with Vitautas Sakalauskas, chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers, by unnamed ELTA correspondent]

[Text]

[Correspondent] On 7 January, you, along with Algirdas Brasauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, and Bronislovas Zaykauskas, Central Committee secretary, participated in the meeting of the Presidium of the USSR Council of Ministers dedicated to the problems of regional khozraschet [cost accounting]. Tell us briefly what questions were examined at the meeting.

[Sakalauskas] I want to remind the readers that the Baltic republics have repeatedly made proposals on the improvement of the management of the national economy of the republics and their self-administration as well as on the expansion of independence. This work was activated especially during the course of the preparations for the 19th All-Union Party Conference and implementation of its positions. On 31 January 1988, the USSR



Council of Ministers entrusted a working group with the preparation of proposals on the transition of the Baltic republics, Belorussian SSR, Tatarskaya ASSR, Sverdlovsk Oblast and Moscow to khozraschet. Many studies were carried out and the opinion of the republics was revealed. Because these matters are rather complex, the Government of the USSR established a commission for the preparation of a common concept of khozraschet. This commission includes representatives of the Gosplans of all republics, scientists and representatives of union departments.

Thus, the meeting of the Presidium of the USSR Council of Ministers examined the commission's report on the work that has been done and proposals on questions involving the restructuring of the leadership of the economic and social areas in the union republics on the basis of self-administration and self-financing.

[Correspondent] What is the fate of the republic khozraschet concept prepared by Lithuanian scientists and specialists and how was it taken into account in the development of an All-Union concept?

[Sakalauskas] The work to prepare a khozraschet concept for our republic was not in vain. In the first place, the concept was presented to all members of the commission. That means that the commission knew what we are striving for. In the second place, it was a clear and specific point of reference for the representatives of the republic, under which it was possible to evaluate the proposals of other republics and the principles formulated by the commission more critically and objectively. Thirdly, no one rescinded or countermanded our concept and we will continue to be guided by it, striving toward the economic independence of the republic.

[Correspondent] Could you describe what distinguishes the general principles of the concept of the USSR governmental commission from the concept prepared in the republic?

[Sakalauskas] There are many differences. Above all, the proposals of the union commission do not cover the "khozraschet" concept comprehensively. I will enumerate several basic aspects.

Our concept accentuates the state property of the republic (land, its mineral resources, water, forests, etc.), whereas the proposals of the union commission emphasize that this is the property of the state as a whole. Hence the many differences with respect to the management of property: there is no complete renunciation of the departmental subordination of enterprises and it is planned to leave some enterprises and systems such as railroad, air and maritime transport and others subordinate to union departments.

Although they advocate the consistent observance of the Law on the State Enterprise (Association) and the defense of the rights of enterprises, it is not possible to

establish a free socialist internal market—which is essential under the conditions of full khozraschet—without renouncing the departmental subordination of enterprises, if compulsory state orders and control figures are retained and the ceilings and stocks of physical resources are distributed centrally.

In the transition to market relations, the republic's concept provides for the possibility of introducing a new monetary system. It appears that no one has any doubts about the necessity of improving this system in the country. Unfortunately, the materials presented to the commission do not even mention this.

There are also several differences in the formation of the budget, the setting of taxes, and the regulation of the credit system and prices.

[Correspondent] It is clear from such a definition of principles that in the current stage the republic is still not obtaining economic independence. But what would the republic achieve if the mentioned principles were implemented?

[Sakalauskas] You will agree that the problems of khozraschet and independence are very complex and we will not resolve them at once. We certainly would be doing ourselves harm to break abruptly with the established economic ties between the republics. In particular because in many republics they are not yet giving serious thought to new methods of management. At the current level of our production and quality of output, it is also as yet unrealistic to dream of a broader external market. For this reason, the process of khozraschet will have to be implemented gradually and in discrete stages.

That which can be done in relying on the developed common principles should be seen as the first step in this direction. In this stage, there must be a significant expansion of the administrative rights of the republic and of the national economy under its authority. It is planned to make such sectors of union-republic subordination as light industry, the agro-industrial complex, the construction materials industry, the timber and pulp industry, and trade subordinate to the republic. It is planned to transfer many specialized enterprises of union subordination that produce consumer goods to the republic.

It is obvious that for the first time it was proposed that the extradepartmental status of enterprises be legislated. Such enterprises already exist in Leningrad and Moscow but these are just the first steps. By taking advantage of this possibility, some of the enterprises of union subordination operating in our republic could be freed of their departmental dependence.

In a few years, the enterprises of republic subordination must produce 60-70 percent of the industrial output (instead of 11 percent at the present time). The republic will manage the entire social sphere and nonproduction

infrastructure. Here we are becoming the true masters of the situation. We will resolve all management questions in the subordinate national economy: set up administrative authorities and their structure and determine the number of workers and size of expenditures for their support. No one will any longer give orders to Lithuania in this area.

It is planned to extend the rights of the republics in planning which consumer goods are to be produced in what quantity and what services provided. Without exceeding the limits of the existing financial and material resources, the republic will independently resolve questions in the construction of production facilities of the subordinate economy, apartments, and facilities in the production and social infrastructure. It will be possible to build new enterprises of union subordination in our territory only in agreement with the republic. We will have significantly more rights in the resolution of matters involving labor, wages and social security.

We ought to stress still another important factor—the growing responsibility of the republic's leading authorities for the satisfaction of the needs of the people. Previously we mainly counted expenditures and then came to an agreement in the USSR Ministry of Finance what income we would receive. The situation will change under the new management conditions: essentially we will establish the budget ourselves and we will determine expenditures in accordance with income. A very complex mechanism has been outlined for the establishment of the budget. But one thing is clear: to increase the budget, everyone will have to work better. Then we will have more resources to satisfy all of our needs.

[Correspondent] You and Algirdas Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, spoke at the meeting of the Presidium of the USSR Council of Ministers. What were the basic ideas of your speeches?

[Sakalauskas] I would like to point out that among the first secretaries of the Communist Party central committees of the republics only Comrade Algirdas Brazauskas participated and spoke, and this is not very customary in the Presidium of the USSR Council of Ministers. Algirdas Brazauskas expressed the public opinion in the republic on this matter and explained in more detail what we want in striving for *khozraschet* and what this *khozraschet* can give to the inhabitants of the republic and of the country as a whole.

I had the occasion to analyze the specific contradictions between the union concept and the one that we worked out. Our proposals were presented to the USSR Council of Ministers in a written form as well. I will name the most important of them.

In the first place, property questions. I declared that there is no way that the people of Lithuania can understand why the land where they have lived for ages, its riches, water and so on cannot be the property of a sovereign republic. Unfortunately, this position of ours did not find support.

We put forward demands that all specialized enterprises of union subordination producing consumer goods be made subordinate to the republic, regardless of how complex these goods may be. For in our time it is difficult to find a commodity whose production would be technically simple and not require cooperation and so on. Finally, we proposed permitting the enterprises of union subordination to decide themselves whether or not they want to have extradepartmental status and that this not depend upon the "good" intentions of the ministries.

The establishment of the budget evoked the most discussion. It is planned in the proposals worked out by the union commission for all the enterprises to transfer a certain proportion of payments to the union, republic and local budgets. In our view, this system is clearly inadequate and therefore we proposed that all payments be transferred to the republic budget and that the relationships with the state budget of the USSR be regulated in a centralized manner. But this proposal of ours will hardly be accepted. They justify this by the fact that enterprises in other countries also pay federal and local taxes.

We objected to the proposed system for banks and the accumulation of credit resources. Today it has become the practice (which they are trying to legislate) for the central banks to take the accumulated credit resources in the republic and subsequently the republic must request these resources from them. It is our conviction that the republic Council of Ministers must have full control of the credit resources arising in the republic and independently implement a credit policy. We called for the transfer of all specialized banks to republic subordination. Other proposals were made for the improvement of planning, the system of currency deductions and so on.

In this connection, I would like to add that the republic's leadership greatly values the contribution of our scientists and public figures to the development of the concept of economic independence, in accordance with the criticism about the excessively slow implementation of *khozraschet*. But we cannot agree with the opinion of some economists and scientists that the republic's leadership naively believes in promises, is still indecisive and is conniving with the "center." Reality shows something else.

[Correspondent] It would be interesting to know the opinion of other republics about regional *khozraschet*. Does it differ from ours?

[Sakalauskas] Yes. And significantly. Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia have gone far forward here, have their own concepts and, relying on the khozraschet concept, are pursuing maximum objectives. Meanwhile, representatives of the Ukraine, for example, have generally advised against hurrying, saying that one should wait for price reform and then one can discuss the matter. Unfortunately, our neighbors in Belorussia have an analogous opinion. The republics of Central Asia and the Kazakh SSR feel offended, because they supply raw materials and not final products, the value of which is higher.

Thus, the republics do not have the same interest in a transition to new conditions and the decision is not predetermined by the opinion of the three Baltic republics.

[Correspondent] Some comments and constructive proposals were made at the meeting. Is it proposed that the public be informed about an improved draft of common principles?

[Sakalauskas] The draft of common principles developed by the commission is being improved continuously after the meeting of the USSR Council of Ministers. The commission, in which Lithuania is represented by Bronislovas Zaykauskas, secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, and Vitautas Sharka, deputy chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers and chairman of Gosplan, is continuing its work. At the meeting of the Presidium of the USSR Council of Ministers, they advocated publishing these principles for public discussion.

[Correspondent] When it is planned to begin to implement the developed principles?

[Sakalauskas] It is planned to prepare the corresponding law on the basis of the discussed principles. This requires a certain amount of time. It was proposed to shift to the new conditions in 1991, that is, after the conclusion of the current five-year plan in the old way. And still another characteristic feature: it is proposed that all of the republics convert to these conditions at once. I want to remind you that we expressed the desire to shift to these conditions in 1990. In addition, it was categorically stated that, taking local circumstances into account, one should work out not one but various versions of self-administration and self-financing. Everyday practice would choose the best and most effective of them. But this opinion was not supported either.

[Correspondent] What is the next program of the republic's leadership, proceeding from the developed principles, to achieve maximum economic independence for the republic?

[Sakalauskas] In the future as well, we will persistently strive for the acceptance of our proposals. Secondly, we will demand that we be permitted to shift to the new conditions at the beginning of 1990, for it is in that year

that the indicators for the 13th Five-Year Plan will be established. By getting to work earlier, one can prepare more realistically for the following five-year plan.

Finally, it is necessary to take advantage of all the possibilities presented by the new principles. And right away, without waiting for anything. It is necessary to establish intersectoral state associations more expeditiously. In our republic, obviously, the first such association can be established for the production of television and household equipment. Thought needs to be given to others as well. We will do everything possible to see to it that enterprises of union subordination are turned over to the republic or obtain extradepartmental status.

The main and most important task remaining, of course, is to achieve complete economic independence based on the concept developed in the republic. We have not and will not put our hopes on the union ministries and departments easily renouncing their own dictates. The apparatus is holding on tightly to a policy of centralism. It is not difficult to understand this. But stranger is the fact that many renowned economists of the country who do not understand or do not want to understand the basic principles of the khozraschet concept of our and other Baltic republics are dancing to the tune of the bureaucracy of many millions. Articles have appeared in the union press asserting that the republic khozraschet will destroy the unified national economic complex of the country and that this will lead to isolation and separation. We are not renouncing the All-Union market but are only striving to guarantee a realistic rather than an imaginary sovereignty of Lithuania within the USSR.

[Correspondent] What do you see as the next tasks of the republic's scientists, economic departments and the soviets of people's deputies in preparing for the transition to work under the principles of self-administration and self-financing?

[Sakalauskas] There is enough work for all. Thus the republic's scientists along with the Lithuanian SSR Goskomstat [State Committee for Statistics] should carefully analyze our inter-republic ties and make suggestions for their improvement. I recently had occasion to familiarize myself with the estimates made by Goskomstat for the import and export of output in 1987. It is clear from them that the importation of output into the republic exceeds its exportation by almost 1.1 billion rubles and this difference is increasing every year. If this sum is assessed in world-market prices, then (according to the calculations of USSR Goskomstat) it would exceed 3.5 billion rubles in foreign exchange. I think that the mentioned figures are disputable because of the inadequate methodology and do not correspond with reality. These questions need to be investigated thoroughly, for this frequently is the basis for us being called dependants.

A great responsibility rests on the financial authorities, who need to assess possible income objectively and accurately, for that assessment is to be used in establishing planning indicators and in projecting the increase in the well-being of the population. Certainly other departments will also have much to do.

Cities and rayons must be given considerable independence. It is not entirely clear to this day how the city and rayon economy will be carried on and what stable principles will be the basis for the establishment of local budgets. The executive committees of cities and rayons also must now analyze how their financial affairs will be put together, for it will be necessary to live on earned resources.

There is much to do, time is passing quickly and there must be no delay in a single link. In short, in expanding democracy and glasnost and in talking about economic independence, each of us is primarily obligated to work conscientiously and responsibly at his own job.

#### **MSSR Official Discusses Preparations for Regional Khozraschet**

18200205b Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA  
in Russian 25 Jan 89 p 2

[Interview with V.G. Kutyркиn, deputy chairman of the Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the republic Gosplan, by ATEM correspondent O. Grabovskiy: "Moldavia Is Preparing for Self-Financing"; date and place not specified]

[Text] *The problems of regional khozraschet [cost accounting], to which the republic is preparing to convert, are evoking increased interest both among scientists and specialists as well as among people who are not versed in this area. And this is understandable. For the prospects for the economic independence of the region affect the entire Moldavian population of 4.2 million and each of its inhabitants. The goal of the conversation of the ATEM correspondent with V.G. Kutyркиn, deputy chairman of the Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the republic Gosplan, is to meet this interest.*

[Grabovskiy] Vladislav Georgiyevich, explain to the readers, please, what regional khozraschet and self-financing mean.

[Kutyркиn] It seems to me that first of all one must specify that khozraschet is an economic category relating to the production of goods. Therefore, it is acceptable only in relation to enterprises producing material values and creating national income that serves as the basis for the development and well-being of the society. As for regional khozraschet, about which much is now being written and said, this primarily involves the self-administration and self-financing of some specific territory—village, rayon, city, oblast, kray or republic. Each of them functions under the conditions of the

broad democratization of the management of the national economy but they are primarily developed through earned funds. In other words, the well-being of the people depends directly upon the level and efficiency of production and the final results of the work of all enterprises and organizations located in a given territory.

[Grabovskiy] What is fundamentally new about territorial self-financing?

[Kutyркиn] It certainly should be stressed that the rights of regional administrative authorities are expanded significantly and simultaneously they have increasing responsibility for the social and economic development of the territory and the satisfaction of the essential needs of the working people. At the same time, the center retains responsibility for the determination and implementation of an internal social and economic strategy, foreign policy, and the defense of the unified multinational-federative state—a unique union of republics such as human history has never known. In short, we are returning to the Leninist principles of democratic centralism in the management of the regional economy, principles that, unfortunately, in a certain stage of the development of our state were ignored and distorted and this did substantial harm.

No less important is the fact that on the one hand, as has already been noted, the transition to regional administration and self-financing makes the level of well-being of a specific region depend upon the state of development of productive forces, their utilization, the intensity and quality of the labor of working people, and the efficiency of the actions of administrative authorities, including the main authority—the Soviet of People's Deputies; on the other hand, it opens up real possibilities for the objective determination of the specific contribution of each region to the All-Union treasury and to the resolution of the tasks in the social and economic development of the entire country.

This is fundamentally new in regional administration.

[Grabovskiy] That is, what is intended is a transition to economic methods of management?

[Kutyркиn] Yes. Such a transition is the most important element in the reforms of the management of the economy and the political system, which are the core of perestroika. Regional self-administration and self-financing flow out of the new conditions of management, under which the entire area of physical production in the country, including, of course, in Moldavia, has been working since the beginning of the year.

[Grabovskiy] What specifically is being done in this direction?

[Kutyarkin] A decision of the Government of the Moldavian SSR established a special working group that included representatives of the leading economic departments, scientists and specialists in the area of administration and social and economic development, and representatives of the republic's unions of creative workers. Three alternative commissions have also been organized, each of which is now developing basic principles and positions for the transition of our republic to regional self-administration and self-financing. It is proposed that all three alternative versions of these positions be examined by the commission and government and presented for nationwide discussion, on the basis of which they will determine the most acceptable version under the current conditions of our development. Furthermore, on an experimental basis, the local soviets of Sorokskiy Rayon were converted to the principles of budgetary self-financing last year and this was done for all of Drokiyevskiy Rayon at the beginning of this year. This makes it possible to work out the basic positions and principles of regional khozraschet in practice at the level of the village, rayon or city for its further introduction everywhere throughout the territory of the republic. This will make an important contribution to ensuring the sovereignty of each soviet of people's deputies.

We are also studying closely the experience already gained in the development of the principles and positions of regional khozraschet in the Baltic republics, Belorussia, and a number of krays and oblasts of the RSFSR.

In November of last year, the USSR Council of Ministers organized a special commission that included representatives of all union republics. The plan that it developed for the basic positions and principles for the management of the social and economic development of the union republics on the basis of self-administration and self-financing was reviewed by the government and is being prepared for nationwide discussion in the form of a draft law.

[Grabovskiy] What, in your opinion, must be done above all for the successful transition to regional self-financing and self-administration?

[Kutyarkin] We think—and our opinion is supported by the union commission—that above all it is necessary to expand substantially the economic base and the scope of economic administration of the local authorities. We believe that the government of the union republics and local soviets must be entrusted with the management of the economic sectors that are directly linked with the satisfaction of the essential needs of people—those sectors that turn out food and consumer goods and provide services as well as capital construction and the social field.

Secondly, clearly delimit the budgetary rights of the administrative bodies of different levels and define the classes of payments that must go into the republic and

local budgets from all the enterprises and organizations located in the territory, regardless of their departmental subordination. Similarly, it is also necessary to define the classes of expenditures of these resources, which will ensure financial independence, expand the rights of republics and local soviets, and give them the possibility to implement and finance particular measures.

Thirdly, it is necessary to expand the rights of union republics and local bodies of self-administration in the area of planning, material-technical supply, price setting and foreign economic activities. In so doing, it is fundamentally important to promote the rights and responsibility of the republics for the disposition of production and productive forces, for the efficient use of the production potential established in the region and for environmental protection.

Our position is unequivocal here—it is necessary to increase substantially payments from profit to the republic and local budgets of the enterprises with union subordination and provide for the full payment for manpower, land and water as well as income taxes from working people to the named budgets from all enterprises located in the corresponding territory, regardless of their departmental subordination. Together with local taxes, these payments will fundamentally strengthen the financial base of the local administration authorities. At the same time, all enterprises of union subordination—in a larger proportion—and of republic or local subordination—in a smaller proportion—must contribute part of the payments from profit to the union budget to cover overall state expenditures such as the development of the basic economic sectors, defense, foreign political and foreign economic activities as well as the realization of major interregional programs and measures. A significant part of such budgetary revenue as the turnover tax must also be channeled into these purposes.

The given basic principles for the formation of budgetary income at different levels must be based on standards, which, depending upon the situation in the economy, will guarantee the long-term stability of the financial coverage of regions and the center and their interdependence: a strong center for strong regions and vice versa. And if the economy of the region develops better and more efficiently than foreseen in the base standards, then its financial possibilities will also increase.

All of these questions are reflected to some degree or other in the documents now being prepared at both the republic and All-Union levels.

[Grabovskiy] By the way, about the mentioned possibilities—what are they in Moldavia?

[Kutyarkin] They depend directly upon the economic structure developing under the influence of historical, natural-climatic, demographic and a whole series of other factors as well as upon the level of the development

of productive forces and the efficiency of their utilization. We have a huge potential that permits the republic to function successfully under the conditions of self-financing. As you know, however, the budget of the Moldavian SSR was established with a deficit of 150 million rubles for the current year. For this reason, our potential possibilities are far from being fully realized. The utilization of the achievements of scientific-technical progress and the advantages of new management conditions, including regional khozraschet, and the improvement of the organization of labor and management in combination with the improvement of the production structure of the region's national economic complex on a scientific basis are the main directions in the realization of our potential possibilities.

[Grabovskiy] In what way will self-administration be combined with the existing structure of inter-republic ties? Can the republic feed itself?

[Kutyркиn] It would be naive to raise the question of whether each republic must feed itself and provide itself with everything it needs. Regional specialization, a natural reality in the development of the society, has come about. Each of the regions specializes in the output of those forms of production that are most advantageous for it and for the country and that are dictated by its natural-climatic, historical and other factors. Thus, Moldavia appears today in the All-Union market as one of the largest producers of foodstuffs. Life itself has established the preconditions for the development of highly intensive agricultural sectors here—vegetable and fruit growing, viniculture and the processing industry.

At the same time, Moldavia has relatively abundant manpower but does not have the necessary minerals and fuel and energy resources, being forced to import them from other regions of the country. This predetermines the further development of machine building that does not require high inputs of materials but that simultaneously is science-intensive and labor-intensive: electronics, instrument making, electrical engineering and, in the framework of the agroindustrial complex, agricultural machine building.

In other words, the principles of republic specialization and the participation of the republics in the nationwide division of labor and exchange of commodities will be preserved in the future as well. In no way do territorial self-administration and self-financing presuppose some sort of regional isolation or the return to physical forms of farming. If anyone thinks or wants this, he is thereby attempting to ignore a historical objective necessity and this never led to anything good.

[Grabovskiy] The coming reform of price setting proposes a lowering of prices for industrial goods and a raising of food prices. Will this help Moldavia to eliminate the mentioned deficit in the state budget?

[Kutyркиn] Wholesale prices for industrial output and services of an industrial-production nature are now being reviewed thoroughly. The task of this reform is to bring prices into line with the level of socially necessary expenditures. Retail prices will be reviewed later and, as M.S. Gorbachev has repeatedly noted, it will only be after a nationwide discussion of this problem. The transition to regional self-administration and self-financing is possible only after the reform of wholesale prices. For if these do not reflect the socially necessary labor input, then it will be impossible to determine correctly the contribution of the republic to the overall development of the state and to stimulate a reduction of republic expenditures.

Our republic and the country as a whole are now experiencing a budget deficit. Previously this was not the case in Moldavia and other republics; overall only the All-Union budget showed a deficit. The transition to regional self-administration and self-financing provides that each republic must work without a loss. And whereas, for example, we previously turned to the All-Union budget for the necessary funds, justifying their magnitude through certain expenditures, we are now forced to abandon such an expenditure approach and to earn our living under the principle "receive what you earned."

[Grabovskiy] More than half of the national income of Moldavia is provided by the agroindustrial complex. But it is located in a zone of variable farming. Will there be structural changes in this connection, including in investment policy?

[Kutyркиn] As has already been noted, it is necessary for us to utilize the conditions of the republic, including the abundant manpower, to bring about a further increase in the economic potential through science-intensive production and to increase the output of the resources of computer science, management and other up-to-date output in machine building. This will make it possible under the conditions of a shortage of raw materials to resolve the mentioned task and to overcome the republic's lag behind other regions of the country: we have the lowest relative share of machine building in the structure of public production—just 18 to 20 percent. We cannot compete with republics with a more highly developed machine building and, consequently, science-intensive production. Hence the lower saturation of our region with national economic specialists: engineers, technicians and so on.

That was in the first place. Secondly, one must not forget that the agroindustrial complex is the heart of the republic's economy. So it is necessary to ensure the stable development of farming, its basis. The primary way is the development of irrigation. Under the conditions of a shortage of water resources, this is possible both through the strict regulation of the use of water by means of the introduction of a reusable water supply and technologies that save water, including drip irrigation,

and, in the future, primarily through a large-scale regional shift of river flows. So far we have not been offered any other version than the utilization of the waters of the Danube. Scientists are now working on this problem. And they will provide an answer to the question of a possible resolution of the named problem.

Thirdly and finally, it is extremely important to overcome as soon as possible the legacy of the past—the existing backwardness in the development of the material base of the social sphere, including in rural areas. Without this, it is impossible to develop the economy in general and the agroindustrial complex in particular.

Some major positive steps have been taken in this area in recent years. It is sufficient to say that in the first 3 years of the five-year plan the putting into operation of educational, health and cultural facilities in the republic increased by a factor of 1.3 to 2 compared with the corresponding period of the preceding five-year plan. Moldavia is among the regions of the country that are better supplied than others with preschool institutions and schools, hospital beds and polyclinics. The "Housing-2000" and "Health" programs are being implemented. But there is still much to be done prior to the full resolution of the task of fundamentally improving the living conditions of the working people in this area.

It is probably precisely through the realization of the named threefold task that there will be a change in the long-term investment policy. It is for this purpose that the industrial base of capital construction will develop at an overtaking rate and that there will be an increase in the production of building materials.

[Grabovskiy] The coming changes and the transition to regional self-financing will apparently require a serious effort by all of us....

[Kutyarkin] In the transition to self-financing, there is no thought of violating and fundamentally changing the existing structure of the economy and interrelationship between the regions and the center immediately, by directive or "in a single hour," as they say. Obviously base conditions and economic indicators will be established, on the basis of which the standards will be determined for deductions to the local, republic and union budgets. Each of the regions will obtain equal conditions for a more complete realization of its possibilities. It is true that changes for the better will happen more quickly for those who work more energetically.

[Grabovskiy] In accordance with the basic principle of socialism: "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his labor"?

[Kutyarkin] Yes, of course. I am an optimist and am firmly convinced that the transition to regional self-administration and self-financing, being still another major step in the radical economic and political reforms, will make it possible to be more successful in resolving

the task set by the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th All-Union Party Conference: through a fundamental restructuring of Soviet society, achieve a qualitatively new level for that society and raise the prosperity of the working people, thereby making fuller use of the possibilities of socialism.

**LiSSR CP CC Secretary Zaykauskas Interviewed on Khozraschet Independence**

18000904 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian  
22 Mar 89 pp 1,2

[Interview with B. Zaykauskas, by ELTA correspondent R. Shlayus: "The Basis of Independence Is Labor"]

[Text] Questions asked by ELTA are answered by Bronislovas Zaykauskas, candidate for election as a USSR people's deputy for Panevezhis Rural National-Territorial Electoral District No. 246, secretary of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee, and chairman of the working commission of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee and LiSSR Council of Ministers for resolving questions pertaining to republic cost accountability.

[Correspondent] Comparatively recently you were in charge of the headquarters for our republic's economy—Gosplan. Currently, after being elected secretary of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee, you have been engaging in economic and social policy. Have you sensed a clear line of demarcation between these positions in your practical work?

[B. Zaykauskas] The basic difference is in strategy. The planning committee is still overloaded with current matters, and therefore one simply does not have any time there to think about the long-range economic situation. And yet the chief need today is a scientifically substantiated economic policy, the formation of that policy and the corresponding distribution of the current matters in conformity with the program. Thus, the tasks of developing the national economy must be planned on the basis of a well-prepared model of the future. Unfortunately it is precisely in this area that we have least experience, and this especially pertains to the evaluation of the changed conditions in the functioning of our economy. However, there is also another question: can everything be foreseen by the secretary of the Central Committee with the aid of ten workers (six departments specializing in economic matters were united into one)? It is especially difficult to encompass the scientific-technical progress. Therefore we have planned to invite consultants—economic scientists—to perform permanent work. We are placing high hopes on the Lithuanian CP Central Committee's Commission for Socioeconomic Questions, which was approved at the last Central Committee plenum. The new conditions also require a new attitude toward the world surrounding us.

[Correspondent] Need it be said that we are also expecting specific work from you as an economist?

[B. Zaykauskas] At the present time, like most of our people, I am undoubtedly most concerned about the republic's economic independence. This is a fundamental area in economic strategy. Without independence I do not see any future for Lithuania.

[Correspondent] It would seem that the address of many of our woes is unknown. But when we begin talking about the republic's cost accountability, we immediately remember the powerful, heavy hand of the center...

[B. Zaykauskas] In general I would not say that we currently have bad relations with Moscow. Everyone understands us better. It must be emphasized that at the highest level this occurs much more quickly than at the lower levels. For example, the Central Committee secretaries and the chairmen of the planning committees of the union republics met to discuss cost-accountability problems with N. Slyunkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee's Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. I said that we will be ready to begin the changeover to economic independence by next year: we have had enough discussion, and now it is time to undertake specific work. But that immediately evoked opposition: the representatives of the major republics proposed that we do not move too hastily, but to allow all the republics to change over to cost accountability simultaneously, and one representative expressed his opinion even more directly. He said, "You're hurrying to send off a steam locomotive before laying the tracks." However, N. Slyunkov as a whole approved and supported the position taken by our republic and the other Baltic republics—not to wait, but to take the first steps as early as next year.

[Correspondent] Nevertheless the Politburo approved not the concept of our republic's economic independence, into the development of which you contributed so much of your thought and labor, but instead the principles of self-government and cost recovery that were prepared by the union-level governmental commission and that were recently published in the press. This is even evaluated by certain economic scientists in our republic as a step backward.

[B. Zaykauskas] Obviously, I agree—it is incomplete sovereignty. However, these principles, which were planned by a union-level commission in whose work the representatives of all the republics (including myself) participated, do not seem to me to be the concept of economic independence. They are, I would say, general principles for the self-government of the union republics during the transitional period. They are only the first stage in the implementation of our concept. Therefore we representatives of the Baltic republics—both when we signed in Riga the general principles for the economic independence of the three republics, and when we participated in the work of that union commission—did not consider that step to be illogical. It is obviously unrealistic to carry out the concept of economic independence

all at once, in one fell swoop. It is necessary to take the first steps immediately, to keep moving, and then to strive to reach the final goal.

Let us look at the situation more concretely. Take, for example, the relationships between the union budget and the republic budget. In the concept that is how they were planned: a budget is a budget. The governmental commission made the following recommendation: settlement with the union budget is made on the basis of a long-term quota for the turnover tax. But does that really mean that it will not be possible to change over from one to another? That we are threatened with a stop halfway? It should be obvious to a person with even the slightest awareness of dialectics that development here is inevitable. There we also propose that the economic dependence—of all three Baltic republics—begin as early as 1990. We must begin this as a first step. We must begin and continue to work confidently forward until we achieve complete, real economic independence in the federation of union republics.

[Correspondent] I would like to quote here a letter written by A. Kuzmene, who lives in Shyaulyay. She writes, "I receive an old-age pension of 55 rubles. My health prevents me from working. Because I am a single person, I have to live on those 55 rubles." Then she writes that she has to pay for her apartment and to buy medicine, shoes, clothing, and many other items that she cannot do without. As a result, she has very little left for food. She lives a semistarvation life. So I would like to ask whether we are not taking a risk—by rushing forward when the country does not yet have a market or any economically substantiated commodity-monetary relations—of complicating the social situation even more.

[B. Zaykauskas] If we do everything consistently, in a well thought-out manner, and do not fuss about, we shall insure ourselves against risk. Therefore I cannot agree with those hotheads who propose changing over immediately to complete economic independence without creating a market, without having developed the commodity-monetary relations. One cannot fail to see that our republic's economy is deeply integrated and is linked by thousands of threads to the entire country. It developed in that way over the course of the entire postwar period. Just try to break those ties suddenly. Everything else aside, we have almost no raw materials of our own. A few people might ask how we had been able to begin living in 1918. One should not forget that the economy that existed at that time was a weak one that was essentially based on in-kind relations and that made do with its own base of agricultural raw materials.

Let us analyze, for example, the providing of gas to our national economy, a factor that today has achieved an extremely high level. During a year the republic expends more than 5 billion cubic meters of gas. Natural gas is the basic raw material for the mineral fertilizers produced by Azotas in Ionava. Gas is essential to the existence of the Panevezhis Glass Plant, the Palyamonskiy Ceramic



Plant, the Daugelskiy Building-Materials Combine, and certain other enterprises in the republic. The republic has begun to use natural gas to heat a rather large number of large-sized boiler rooms, and gas has been provided to 92 percent of the apartments in cities and 83 percent in the countryside. Motor transport has been consuming an increasing amount of natural and compressed gas. The capabilities of providing gas to consumers will increase when the construction of the Minsk-Vilnius gas pipeline is completed in 1989.

[Correspondent] But what if we turn our face toward foreign countries? Aren't there a few people who propose that we take advantage of credit?

[B. Zaykauskas] That same gas and almost all other raw materials in general are many times cheaper on the foreign market. But in order to buy anything, it is first necessary to have something to sell. For the time being, we have almost nothing to offer to the world. More than half the exported output consists of our own raw materials, whereas machinery and equipment constitute less than a fourth. This, of course, does not mean that we should not orient ourselves toward the foreign market. Even now many of the enterprises in our republic maintain contacts with various foreign companies. True, for the time being the center collects 30 percent of any currency that is earned. The world market that has been opened up will constitute competition for the union monopoly, and this will help, if only partially, to eliminate the shortage of commodities. We must begin right now to think about what branches of industry we should form into cooperatives and into which we should invest the foreign currency so that those branches will be promising and mobile ones. But nevertheless we cannot get along without a union market. For example, Finland purchased raw materials from the Soviet Union and sold a small amount of the finished output to our country; the union of productive labor and intelligent management yielded good results. The most important thing is the well-run economy and industriousness! Those are things that we need too.

But we shall not be in too much of a hurry with credit. Of course I am not saying that we should not make any use at all of foreign credit. We cannot get by without it. Therefore we think that it is necessary right now to expand the competency of the republic government. However, we might remember something else: the economy does not forgive errors. Take a look at the recent situation in Hungary, when it has been necessary to return the debts, making life more expensive. And look at the inflation in Yugoslavia. In the course of developing our own model of reorganizing the economic and social spheres, we also paid attention to this.

[Correspondent] Could you please describe for our readers in a few words how this model looks concretely?

[B. Zaykauskas] First, all the enterprises and organizations that are part of the agroindustrial complex must be transferred to republic subordination. This also pertains to all the enterprises in light industry, timber management and the timber industry, building materials and the construction complex, as well as certain other enterprises, organizations, and associations of union and union-republic subordination, primarily those that specialize in the production of consumer goods and produce articles that are basically intended for satisfying the needs of the republic's national economy.

Another important step in the area of the republic's cost accountability is creating opportunities for the complete support of those enterprises and associations that are striving for complete independence, that is, that are renouncing direct subordination to the appropriate branch ministries. And there is yet another important factor—the new enterprises of union subordination can be built in the republic only on the basis of an understanding between the republic's government and the appropriate union ministry.

The new model also stipulates that all the specialized banks must be transferred to republic subordination, and that considerably broader rights for the republic in the area of foreign trade and of credit must be defined.

I would like to dwell separately on questions of the budget. The republic budget must be formed and approved independently. We ourselves must decide for what national-economic and social needs we will use the ruble that has been earned. These are essential questions. For example, we think that the social assistance that has been centrally established at the present time should be considered the minimum, and the republic should independently increase that assistance as required. This assistance must especially affect young families or those with a large number of children, senior citizens, and the disabled. We retain the right also to raise hourly and annual salary rates. In a word, we understand our concept of economic independence in a much broader way than the draft of the union decree that was recently published in the press.

[Correspondent] What has already been done, or is being done, to assure that the first step toward economic independence is as broad, as carefully thought-out, and as well-substantiated as possible?

[B. Zaykauskas] The most important thing now is to begin the practical implementation of the concept of economic independence. Essentially speaking, the work is being carried out in two basic directions. The first is the difficult work in the center—in the union-level directive agencies and ministries, and departments. We have prepared the appropriate draft of a USSR Council of Ministers decree that sets down the practical tasks for the republic's economic independence for the future year. Work with the appropriate central economic departments and branch ministries is waiting for the

near future. A tremendous management will have to be accepted under republic subordination. It must be accepted in order for it to be able to function normally. Questions of material-technical resources are especially important here. It is necessary for Gosplan, the ministries and departments, and everything together to strive persistently to implement what has been planned. Especially since there is not much time. Secondly, proposals are being prepared about how the administration of the republic's economy and how planning and functioning should look, and how to expand the rights of the local soviets and their economic base. This work is coordinated by the Lithuanian CP Central Committee and LiSSR Council of Ministers commission for resolving questions of republic cost accountability, the leadership of which commission has been entrusted to me. Certain of our proposals have been submitted to the appropriate union departments. For example, Lithuanian CP Central Committee and LiSSR Council of Ministers have supported the enterprises and associations of union and republic subordination that are in operation on the territory of the republic, that have voluntarily decided to come out from under the subordination to the union and republic ministries and to form an absolutely independent interbranch production association for household appliances. This idea has already gone as far as USSR Gosplan and the appropriate union ministries.

But most of the decisions will have to be made locally—it will be necessary to develop and implement a scheme for administering the republic's entire national economy. The Presidium of the LiSSR Supreme Soviet and the appropriate commissions that were created by the Presidium are already preparing two important legislative bills: "Administration of the Economy and the Republic's Social Sphere" and "Self-Government of the Local Soviets and the Local Management." This will create the necessary legislative foundations or, I would say, the legal guarantees for work under conditions of economic independence. Therefore it is very important for these laws to be enacted during the current year.

[Correspondent] More than half the national income created in the republic is provided by the agroindustrial complex...

[B. Zaykauskas] I think that no part of the country can consider itself to be developed if it lacks any productive agriculture, if it cannot feed itself. The republic's agriculture as a whole occupies rather good positions on the countrywide scale. Much has been done and is being done by the mind and hands of the farmer. This is one side of the coin. There also exists another side that causes unrest: it is the more than 7000 empty farms and the weary hands of the rural inhabitant, hands that know no rest even late at night. It is true that an industrious peasant can easily accumulate enough money to buy a car or to make some other expensive purchase, but is that really enough? One cannot ignore such a social evil as drunkenness. A large number of decent, industrious

families have fallen apart. We must never forget that the village is our roots. It is the creator and preserver of the nation's traditions. It must be everyone's concern.

[Correspondent] What kind of urgent assistance, in your opinion, should be rendered to the Lithuanian countryside in order for it to have faith once again in its rebirth and its future?

[B. Zaykauskas] This kind of advice is not even necessary. The farmers themselves know what they are in greatest need of. They know what is needed to run the farm. For example, recently, during a meeting with voters, I attended a conference of farmers in Pakruoyskiy Rayon. A rather large number of very important questions were raised there. An entire package of them was linked with material-technical resources, and with the providing of building materials. In addition, everything is becoming more expensive, but the purchase prices of agricultural products remain unchanged. Participants at the conference also stated the demand to put an end to methods employing administrative fiat. The farmers said, "Let us live, and we will chose for ourselves—whether to use the family contract or the collective contract, cooperatives, the peasant farm, the joint-stock society, or anything else." And they are absolutely right. Everyone should decide the conditions, the mind, and the desire.

Actually, it is necessary to show more concern for the rural laborer. Therefore let's think first of all about his everyday living conditions, about making his life easier, about raising the cultural level in the countryside. For example, in my electoral district I frequently drop into a particular store. And would you believe that the shelves frequently do not have even the necessities of life! Obviously, on the whole the government, by developing land reclamation and the social infrastructure of the countryside, and by granting loans, has contributed quite a bit to assure that the windows sparkle more brightly. However, there are truly quite a few problems here still, and the debt owed by the city to the countryside has by no means been paid. The congress of Lithuanian farmers demonstrated that sharply. Now it is the task of us party organizers to help to implement as rapidly as possible the truly good decisions made by the congress.

[Correspondent] Society has always made, and continues to make, increased demands on the party worker, just as it does on the teacher. However, we still have today those people who, covering the feebleness of their thought processes with inflated political phrases, keep looking back to a superior agency for guidance, and, for purposes of overinsuring themselves, keep checking to see whether their actions deviate from a particular paragraph in the latest decree.

[B. Zaykauskas] It is difficult to answer unambiguously. Actually, there have been party workers who only kept looking back to the center, in order to get their bearings ahead of time concerning the direction from which the

wind was blowing. But a rather large number of the people—both in the Central Committee and in the party's raykoms and gorkoms—are thinking people who have their own opinion. And those who were in the wrong place, especially the first secretaries, were weeded out at the report conferences. On the whole, there have already been good shifts in party work. Although quite a bit still remains from those times. That is why we say that it is necessary to adhere strictly to the party line. Some people are apparently yearning for a firm hand. But actually what we need is not a rectilinearly understood party line. What we need is a general platform that would have a place both for creativity and for innovation.

Let us, then, look at our past through another prism. In society there was no shortage of various situations, and therefore everything also happened in the party, because the party is made up of the same people. There has been grain, and there has been rye grass. However, everything was done. People endured and experienced much. So let's separate the grain from the rye grass. Let's not mix them.

[Correspondent] As we end our conversation I would like to ask you a personal question: you are an economist, and so are your wife and son. However, I have heard that at one time you were a well-known athlete.

[B. Zaykauskas] In the early 1950's I was a member of the Zhalgirisa eight-man team that was well-known at that time. True, that was during the first years when the team was being created. We managed several times to become republic champions, and we also took prize-winning places on the union scene. But when I began working at Gosplan, it became increasingly difficult to get to the lake. I had to choose... True, the Republic Rowing Federation has not yet freed me from my duties as chairman. And it does no good to explain that I barely have time to do everything. Therefore the only thing that remains for me to do is to follow the philosopher's advice—expand the sphere of that which is possible.

**Armenian CP Administrative Structure Seen as Institutionalized Bureaucracy**  
18300441a Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA  
in Russian No 8, 22 Feb 89 p 10

[Article by Zoriy Balayan: "The Place is Sacred..."]

[Text] The year is 1981. The Congress of Armenian Writers. The auditorium is attentively listening to a report. Complete silence. Suddenly the staid audience ripples in laughter. The guests who are sitting in the presidium laugh at the same time as everyone else. They are listening to simultaneous interpretation. The persons who are confused are the ones who do not understand Armenia who are sitting in the auditorium. I immediately

began translating for an associate from LITERATURNAYA GAZETA who was sitting next to me, and he burst out laughing after the auditorium had already quieted down.

What had happened? The speaker had said that, in a certain rayon, in accordance with the latest fashion, a sociological survey was being carried out: teenagers were being asked what they would like to become. Some, of course, wanted to become cosmonauts; others, doctors; and still others, teachers. But one boy admitted outright that he wanted to become the first secretary of a party raykom... Then it turned out that a similar survey was being conducted in other rayons. There too there were boys who dreamed of the "profession" of first secretary. And there are 37 rayons (counting only the rural ones) in the republic. But for some reason on that day I was thinking not about those teenagers who, with their typical frankness, had not concealed their heartfelt desires. I was thinking specifically about the number of rayons and, consequently, the number of rayon centers.

Is that a lot or a few—37? For many years I have been trying to answer that question. For myself, I guess that I analyzed everything long ago. I had spent a rather long period of time in absolutely every one of those rayons, and I had written about each of them. LITERATURNAYA GAZETA had printed an essay about the fate of the village of Gnishik, situated high up in the mountains, that had been eliminated by the malicious will of the republic and rayon officials. I mentioned that rural inhabited places, many of which had existed for a thousand or more years, had perished one after the others. And one thing was clear to me: the devastation of the land, and also of the person's soul, had begun in our republic not simply, as people generally state, in the late 1920's and early 1930's. Instead, there is a precise date: 9 September 1930. It was precisely on that day that, on the territory of Armenian SSR with its historically formed regions, there were simultaneously created 25 whole administrative rayons. For whom had it been necessary to divide the republic's small territory into 25 fragments?

Several years ago I asked that question of S. F. Gabrielyan. By now he is retired, but in the 1920's and 1930's he occupied various positions in Narkomzem [People's Commissariat of Agriculture] and in the republic's okrug committees. In 1937 he was repressed. After spending 17 years in Stalinist camps, he was rehabilitated in 1956.

"The decision to carry out total regionalization," he said, "came down from the top. At first we were not too clear on why it was needed. Later on it became obvious that this was easier for the center. In a single hour you could issue allocation breakdowns, orders, and decisions. The local administrators could keep their eyes on everyone, and keep an account of them. It was possible to see and to hear everything..."

In the course of my conversation with Gabrielyan, I managed to learn that at first Moscow, and then Yerevan, had complained that too much time was being spent in the outlying areas trying to locate "enemies." There were also complaints about the lack of roads, about the mountain passes, and about the shortage of equipment and escorts. An attempt was made to deal with those complaints. In 1937 the republic pie was cut up into seven more pieces. In that terrible year, seven more rayons were added to the 25 already existing.

I might add that, for some reason, the propagation of the rayons also occurred later on—in 1969, 1982, and 1983.

Let us attempt finally to analyze what we are dealing with: 37 rayons on a territory of 29,800 square kilometers. The total population is 3.5 million persons. Almost half of them live in three cities: Yerevan, Leninakan, and Kirovakan. Approximately 700,000 persons live in 25 cities of republic subordination. Approximately one million persons live in rural areas. There are approximately 1000 rural inhabited places.

I counted up and found that in every rural rayon there are approximately 30,000 persons. On the average, of course. In some rayons there may be 100,000, and in others 10,000. But in almost all of them there is one and the same table of organization. At the republic's Ministry of Finance I obtained a statement concerning the number of workers in executive committees of the soviets of people's deputies in rural rayons. I look at the figures: 3893 persons! Let us think about what that means. Almost 4000 apparatus workers for 37 tiny rayons. But if this was all that we had to consider! Even if there was an average of 105 officials sitting on 105 chairs in the executive committees, how many more of them must be in the party's raykoms! Just walk past the multistory party and soviet temples that have been erected in the urbanized rayon centers. Walk past them on days when a conference or a plenum is being held there. You will see nearby a gigantic pool of passenger cars and practically a company of the hefty bruisers who are called personal drivers. All day long they gossip with one another, smoke cigarettes, and polish the limousine windows.

At 37 points there are not only 37 raykom first secretaries, but also 37 second secretaries, and just plain secretaries, and they all have their drivers, many of who are officially carried as mechanics, janitors, and watchmen. But if we had to consider only the secretaries...

I recall meeting at the Moskva Hotel in the capital a finance worker whom I knew. We started talking. It turned out that the next administrative rayon was being created, and the finance worker had come to the capital to knock out a table of organization. He had been most trouble with the cadres in the administrative agencies. They did not yet have any tables of organization yet, but they were already agitating for them. And I thought to myself, my God, there were 36 procurators, and just as many chiefs of militia, KGB, OBKhSS [Departments for

Combatting the Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation], GAI [State Automobile Inspectorates], etc., and now they are going to add another one. Where are we going to get enough people to take care of all these criminals!

Okay, we need administrative agencies. But 37 chairmen of rayon people's control committees, with all their staff! Then add to them regiments of Komsomol and trade-union workers, dressed in the heat of the dusty south in nicely tailored three-piece suits and fashionable neckties. And let's not forget the 37 RAPO's [rayon agroindustrial associations] and raypo's [rayon consumer's societies], the societies for assistance to the army, air forces, and the navy, and also those for combatting drunkenness. And all these agencies, as well as others, in just one tiny rayon.

And in the villages that are still intact, or, rather, that have miraculously escaped the bureaucratic yataghan, as we can see, boys are already growing up who are dreaming of becoming a first secretary. They don't want to become blacksmiths or plowmen!

Once I happened to be in Ararat'skiy Rayon on a job for the editorial office. On that day I happened by circumstance to be a witness of how a cavalcade of cars arrived in one of the villages, raising up behind them a column of dust into the air that was already filled with dust from the local cement plant. One after another, "three-piece-suiters" emerged from the black limousines. There was a very large number of them. One of the persons who had arrived started chatting about how nice it was for them to talk to the ordinary people. The other administrators smiled. I repeat, there was a very large number of those administrators. But there were few people on the field. They were sunburnt people with faces covered with wrinkles that had been caused by the wind and the sun. They also smiled. The discussion was about the prospects for the harvest. But there was more fakery in all this than there was dust on the black limousines. I looked carefully into the faces of the "administrators" and the "ordinary people." Probably the one thing that united them was that both groups of people were speaking in one and the same language. Although, all things considered, it was obvious that they did not understand each other very well.

In reply to a question, for example, as to what he needed, a skinny old man, leaning on his shovel, said, "Freedom." Immediately the smiles disappeared from the faces of the "guests." Then the old man explained that he had worked all by himself for two years to build a hothouse on his plot, and now ten people had taken about a half-hour to knock it to pieces. They had attempted to convince him that his hothouse was evil. That he would try to sell his flowers somewhere in the Baltic republics and that he was taking electrical energy from the state. But he is not one of your shy individuals. He was going to have it his way. The peasant needs freedom. And he does not need anyone to check up on

what he is thinking, or anyone who, for some reason, allows himself to yell at fathers in the presence of their sons. Or anyone to smash up his hothouse. Or to reproach him for using the state's electricity, gas, or solar oil. Because no one was asking them to be poor. In conclusion the old man stated that previously there had never been any people just loafing around, but now the only people you saw in the village were people "with neckties on and with their hands in their pants pockets." And yet all of them seemed to have a job. They all were filling official positions. And they had more than enough at home. But they didn't have any calluses on their hands.

The old man was told in reply: you're not right, since there are people who are even very necessary to society, but their profession is such that it does not produce any calluses on their hands. He was spoken to politely, in an attempt to remove the tension. But the old man shrugged his shoulders and completed the drawn-out dialogue: "Well, I think that people understand what I am talking about."

Incidentally, why is it that he so viciously attacks, and we do also, some vaguely identified bureaucrats and officials? Exactly who are they? Wasn't it we ourselves who created these innumerable positions that no one needs? Did anyone think carefully about the fact that, in an administrative rayon where there is an annual total of, say, from 200 to 250 court investigations, after it is divided into two parts, each of them will soon begin to investigate the same 200-250 court investigations each year? It is not that the number of crimes has doubled, but the number of procurators and militiamen. You can always find criminals if you look for them...

The passion for division, for the "multiplication" of authority, is shifting from our villages to the city. At one time the first secretary of the Armenian CP Central Committee was automatically considered to be the first secretary of the party's Yerevan Gorkom. Later on, an independent gorkom was established, the apparatus of which, true, could be easily accommodated in the Central Committee building. At the present time, a palace has been constructed for the city committee, and already eight other palaces—rayon palaces—are subordinate to it. Also, the raykoms and rayon ispolkoms used to be housed informally in the same building. But now they have divided like amoebas. There is an analogous situation in Leninakan: a city with a population of 200,000 people has been divided into two equal rayons. The gorkom and the city ispolkom have been augmented by two raykoms and two rayon ispolkoms.

Isn't it time to admit that we have made a mistake in creating these administrative fragments? Yes, we have. Whether it was by design or without a design is another matter. We ourselves created these "sacred places," even realizing very well that they "are not empty." But we should not bring all this to the point of absurdity.

### Necessary Postscript

This article was prepared for the press three months ago. And, as often happens, its text was read over the telephone to the author for the last time. Because there are all kinds of mistakes that can occur, especially with people's names, geographical names, etc. I let it be known by voice from time to time that I could hear normally. And that is how the telephone call went for exactly 11 minutes. At 1141 hours on 7 December all hell broke loose on the fourth floor where the correspondent's station is located. Simultaneously the communication with Moscow was interrupted. Everything kept shaking for a long time. Windows tinkled. From having worked for years in Kamchatka, I was accustomed to sensations such as this, and for some reason I immediately thought that our building was in good condition. It is made of stone. In addition, it was built long ago. But three of my children were attending school in so-called modern buildings. And at that moment all three of them were in school. Glancing at my watch, I even thought that there were still a few minutes until the next changing of classes. Soon I learned that everything was all right with the children.

Two hours later I was already flying in a helicopter to the northwest, to the area of Spitak and Leninakan...

The reader is very familiar with everything else. The tragic consequences of the catastrophe convince us one again that the number of victims would have been much smaller if it had not been for the pathological maximalism of the republic's previous administrators, who had planned the construction of high-rise rayon centers that stamped out provincial "Cheremushkas." It is only now that we realize that if, previously, we had been armed with such a weapon as glasnost, much might be different today.

Because it was necessary to fight a lot against the creation of the ugly rayon centers. Against the artificial creation of a fragmented republic. Villages were destroyed and nine-story buildings were erected. And now not a single building of that kind remains in the disaster area. Not a single one.

Today, when 58 villages have been completely destroyed and approximately 350 have suffered greatly, a question that arises more acutely than ever before is the question of dismembering the republic into a large mass of administrative rayons. When rebuilding the legendary Gyumri—Leninakan—it is necessary to think about how desirable it might be to preserve in the future city the rayons that were created recently. When restoring the destroyed rayon centers, there may some sense in thinking about their artificially inflated "guiding role." Because it is one matter to plan for centuries and to build simply a city, and it is another matter to plan an administrative center with all the appropriate institutions.

Does it make sense, literally a few meters (not kilometers) from Kirovakan to maintain (specifically to maintain) the Gugark rayon center, and a few meters from Leninakan, the Akhuryan rayon center, which, even by our scale, have tiny areas of land that are completely bestrewn with rocks? Isn't it better now to think first of all about apartment buildings, rather than about institutions for officials? In the restored villages the peasants will somehow get along without numerous checkers and bailiffs. Incidentally, I think that this problem pertains not only to my republic, but also to many other parts of the country.

**ArSSR: Gorkom First Secretary on Dilizhan Reconstruction Program**

18300441b Yerevan KOMSOMOLETS in Russian  
16 Feb 89 p 3

[Interview with R. A. Mnatsakanyan by A. Gazazyan, KOMSOMOLETS special correspondent: "We Shall Do More By Working Together"]

[Text] The meetings between voters and their deputies are taking of special pertinency during the period when the new electoral campaign is being extended throughout the country and the candidates for election as USSR people's deputies are being nominated and registered. Fundamental importance is being attached to the meetings with deputies that have become traditional in our republic—because it is no secret to anyone that the number of problems in Armenia has become considerably greater after the destructive earthquake in the northern rayons of the republic.

Recently there a meeting in Dilizhan between the voters and the candidate for election as member of the bureau of the Armenian CP Central Committee, Granush Grantovna Akopyan, first secretary of the Armenian Komsomol Central Committee. There was a frank, businesslike discussion, which, the people of Dilizhan themselves feel, will help to resolve the problems that have accumulated in the "green city." The topics included the consequences of the earthquake which, unfortunately, left its destructive traces in Dilizhan also. Those consequences were also the subject of the interview that our special correspondent had with Robert Ashotovich Mnatsakanyan, first secretary of the Armenian CP Dilizhan GK [Gorkom].

[R. Mnatsakanyan] It is understandable that since the very first days the primary attention has been devoted to the rayons that were in the epicenter of the disaster. Equipment is being sent to Leninakan, Spitak, Kirovakan, Stepanavan, and the villages surrounding them, and operations are being extended on a broad front. However, as has been shown by a detailed study of the situation that has been created in our city, this terrible calamity also reached as far as Dilizhan. Approximately 65,000 square meters of housing suffered in state sector buildings alone. This is 43 percent of the city's total housing fund. A large number of individual homes are in emergency condition. More than 4500 persons have

been evacuated from the homes in emergency condition to boarding houses and sanatoriums in Dilizhan, and for the time being many persons are living with their relatives and close friends. The situation is complicated by the fact that we have accepted 3020 persons from Leninakan, Kirovakan, and Spitak, and prior to the earthquake more than 700 refugees from Azerbaijan found refuge in our city.

The earthquake also damaged several enterprises, including the Impuls PO [Production Association], where a large number of Dilizhan's working hands were concentrated. The furniture factory and the dairy plant are in critical condition. All the city's communication lines are in a state that causes serious concern. We have mentioned all this to our deputy, the first secretary of the Armenian Komsomol Central Committee.

[Correspondent] Robert Ashotovich, it is already known that Dilizhan suffered damages with a total value of tens of millions of rubles. How will the work of eliminating the consequences of the earthquake be carried out?

[R. Mnatsakanyan] We have succeeded in submitting our well-substantiated problems promptly to the commission of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee. And Dilizhan was mentioned in the well-known decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers. A total of 55,000 square meters of housing will be constructed in our city by construction organizations from fraternal Moldavia. In addition, they will build a new school and a kindergarten. One of the Impuls buildings will also be situated in a new minirayon. Twenty thousand square meters of housing will be turned over for operation this year, and 35,000 more will be turned over next year. Incidentally, you know that this is almost a 10-year construction program for the city under ordinary conditions. At the present time the Moldavian construction workers are setting up their own construction base, and by the end of this year more than a thousand Moldavian construction workers will be working here.

We have also raised the question of creating a comprehensive target program of measures to prevent landslides. The scientists and specialists must also express their views in this regard. We must preserve Dilizhan for the entire republic and for the country. But landslides occur not only as a result of the mean will of uncontrollable natural forces. Man, who has crudely interfered in the life of nature and the environment, also shares some of the blame for the calamity. How many times have we spoken about the undesirability of installing our communication lines by making cuts in the ground, with their traditional consequences! The hour has struck and they must be more reliable. Why not use here the method of drilling shafts for all types of communication lines, so that those lines can be repaired or replaced without disturbing the land...

Yes, we have given a large package of problems this time to our deputy. I would like to emphasize that the leader of our republic's young people is not a formal deputy. She has done a lot for Dilizhan even before the earthquake. So the people of Dilizhan have complete confidence in their deputy.

[Correspondent] But have the people of Dilizhan, jointly with the deputy, succeeded in doing?

[R. Mnatsakanyan] Well, it's a long list. Incidentally, the thing that people particularly remember was the work of opening up the International Children's Computer Center. It will begin operating in the summer, and from 1 September the schoolchildren of Dilizhan will begin attending computer literacy classes there. By the way, the center will be situated in former governmental dachas.

And I would like to mention something else. The Armenian Choral Society had its base in Dilizhan. We found the opportunity to make another building available to it, and our children received a remarkable present—the House of Pioneers in the very center of the city. It must be noted that the construction of the new House would have taken 5-6 years. Thanks to the efforts of Granush Grantovna, we were able to save several million rubles. But, most importantly, the children have moved from tiny little rooms to a very roomy building.

I have already mentioned that the deputy has been given a package of our problems. They also include this one: the republic's Gosagroprom [State Agroindustrial Committee] apparently has considered it to be excessive to include three Dilizhan sovkhozes among the villages that suffered from the earthquake. This is especially strange in that Dilizhan itself is included in this number. Once again a departmental approach to the situation has manifested itself. But certainly it is time to break with the stereotypes! If only by using such an emergency situation that exists now.

[Correspondent] Robert Ashotovich, the people in the editorial office of the youth newspaper do not associate very often with the party workers...

[R. Mnatsakanyan] For no good reason, among other things. Would you like to know what the party workers think about the Komsomol workers, and how we are working together?

[Correspondent] Yes, I did want to ask you specifically about that.

[R. Mnatsakanyan] Well, I'll tell you outright that, for the time being, we are not very satisfied with our city's Komsomol members. We do not see among the young people that energy that existed, say, at the very beginning of perestroyka. It is as though they have become tired very quickly. Although I will be pleased to share with you

one of the initiatives of the Komsomol's gorkom. At a recent bureau meeting at the Armenian CP Dilizhan GK, Asmik Gukasyan, first secretary of the Komsomol's gorkom, made a recommendation concerning the creation of Komsomol-youth brigades that are ready as of today to begin working to clear away the floors and partitions in the critically damaged buildings and to create an activities front for the construction workers. It would be a good thing to have more recommendations like this.

We are also expecting the young people to take the most active participation in construction after the allocation of 25 hectares of land to the people of Dilizhan for individual construction. Incidentally, it is also possible to resolve, in addition to the housing problem, the problem of food. Needless to say, the people of Dilizhan have lost their familiarity with the land. But there was a time when literally every family had food on the table that had been entirely produced on their own plot. It is important once again to attempt to link the citydweller with the land. And the first ones could be the young families...

[Correspondent] I would like to return once again to the question of the rebuilding of Dilizhan. What participation will the people of Dilizhan themselves take in this matter? Won't they prove to be simply observers at a large construction site?

[R. Mnatsakanyan] Being a dependent is always immoral. All the city's construction efforts have been directed at completing—within the shortest periods of time!—the operations that were temporarily stopped. Work is continuing to build a purification structure with a collector, and to build apartment buildings. Simultaneously, work is being done to restore the buildings that are in a critical state.

Many seasonal construction workers have been applying to the construction organizations of Moldavia, which are extending their efforts in Dilizhan. You will agree that, for the Moldavians, this is a great help. It would have been healthy if the seasonal workers had worked for a year or two back home in their own republic. And there is yet another task: the task of surrounding the Moldavian construction workers and specialists with so much concern that none of them will feel that he is far from home.

So long as we are talking about construction and the restoration of the buildings, I cannot fail to mention this problem: everyone knows how many efforts and funds are being expended by the citydwellers to repair their own home and apartments. For some, this costs a pretty penny: tile, parquet, wallpaper... And it is sometimes necessary to disassemble the partitions and parquet in

order subsequently to reinforce the buildings. It might be reasonable also to raise the question of some kind of compensation to the victims...

[Correspondent] There have been a large number of rumors concerning the situation that has developed in Dilizhan. You wouldn't believe the things that we have heard!

[R. Mnatsakanyan] What surprises me that good news sometimes crawls along like a turtle, but bad rumors spread at lightning speed. This is the way I think: people who have found themselves in an emergency situation need a "miracle." So they listen to all kinds of stories and tell them to one another—Lake Sevan will soon cover over Dilizhan—and invent underground water. And the rumor about the closing of the Impuls PO! The enterprise will not be closed...

Incidentally, Impuls completely coped with its planned assignments last year, and also fulfilled its plan for contract shipments. The collective at the enterprise has always been among the forerunners in the branch, and currently their mood is optimistic. Suffice it to state that the work in a number of sectors and shops is continuing, despite the fact that the basic building at the PO is currently a sad spectacle. Cracks have appeared in the joists and beams—it is impossible to continue working there. What about stopping the plant and searching for reserves? The first path is the simplest, but the second is complicated...

The decision was made to make the personal-services building available, to pack in the office and all the services there, and to start up production on the areas that had been freed. One sector with a closed production cycle was put in the SPTU [rural vocational-technical school] shops; and areas for the plant were allocated by the ATP and the radio technicum. The main task is not to lose the specialists, but to provide them with housing and to continue the work of producing output. At the present time all the members of the collective are learning a second specialty—the specialty of construction worker. There is, of course, help, but the bulk of the work will have to be done by the collective members themselves.

By the end of the year the Impuls PO will already be producing the first output.

[Correspondent] Robert Ashotovich, thank you for this conversation and for the frank discussion.

[R. Mnatsakanyan] Thank you, also. I think that the meetings with the youth newspaper should become traditional. I am convinced that we will do more by working together.

### Armenian Finance Minister on Quake Victim Compensation Progress

18300498a Yerevan *KOMMUNIST* in Russian  
7 Mar 89 p 3

[Interview with Dzh.A. Dzhanoyan, Armenian minister of finances by unnamed Armenpress correspondent: "Compensation for Citizens Suffering Losses in the Earthquake"]

[Text] The providing of material aid to citizens suffering losses in the earthquake was the focus of a talk between our Armenpress correspondent and the Armenian Minister of Finances Dzh.A. Dzhanoyan.

[Correspondent] Please tell us what difficulties exist in organizing work in providing aid to the earthquake victims. Today this work is still not over although 3 months have passed since the adopting of the Decree of the USSR Council of Ministers of 15 December 1988 "On Providing Aid to the Armenian Earthquake Victims."

[Dzhanoyan] You will agree that the work of paying out compensation generally is a complicated matter and extremely crucial. With good reason they say that money is like, say, reckoning and we are involved with an amount exceeding a billion rubles. If you consider this amount, the lack of experience in carrying out such work under unusual conditions, the diversity of the subcalculations, the location of the quake victims in various places, including outside the republic, as well as the solving of questions related to constantly appearing new circumstances, then any commentary would be superfluous. However the case, the main difficulties have been overcome. Suffice it to say that by 2 March of the present year, more than 750,000 citizens had received the one-shot aid totaling 162 million rubles. The damage to 98,000 homeowners has been investigated and determined and the total of this together with compensation for the cost of lost furniture reaches 618 million rubles. The total amount of payments already is 780 million rubles. Presently, on the spot they have begun settling disputed questions and there are many of these as well as numerous complaints. The criticism addressed to us on this score has had a mobilizing effect. Certainly, regardless of all the objective circumstances, it would have been possible to show greater responsibility and organization. We do not feel it superfluous to point out that particularly in the initial period, the ispolkoms of the local soviets by their passive position did not contribute to the organizing of this work.

[Correspondent] I would imagine the complaints from the citizens are basically valid? For example, the inhabitants of private homes are complaining that the commissions on the spot do not figure in all their structures and facilities and consequently compensation is not provided for them.



[Dzhanoyan] According to the current legislation, the value of the housing structures, the garden huts, dachas, garages and farm structures is to be paid for fully according to an assessment set in the insurance documents and considering the amounts received under the state compulsory and voluntary insurance. It has turned out that in many instances not all the structures and facilities and citizens had been previously entered on the state insurance. It must be considered that these are compulsory insurance facilities. Bearing this in mind, the commissions were instructed to consider, evaluate and submit for compensation all structures and facilities belonging to the citizens with rights of private property and remaining outside the last insurance evaluation.

[Correspondent] Numerous questions also arise in line with the rules for the so-called passport status. In paying compensation refusal is made under the pretext that the citizen who is an earthquake victim was not registered at the given address. How correct is this?

[Dzhanoyan] Of course, this is wrong. A concrete and thorough approach must be shown to the question. In the circumstances of interest to us, the citizen must, with all the legal consequences ensuing from this, be recognized as an earthquake victim at the place of his actual residence, however this fact should be verified. There have been numerous instances when a citizen registered in Yerevan had lived and worked constantly in the earthquake zone. Certainly the fact of employment and residence there is the main one. One other instance: a citizen is registered at one address in terms of the place of his permanent residence, however for some reasons he lives at another. This is a reality of our life. I repeat, the circumstance of actual residence should be thoroughly verified and for this the local authorities have every opportunity although they do not use this sufficiently.

[Correspondent] Please explain in more detail the questions recently raised in the announcement published recently by your ministry and concerning the membership of earthquake victim families.

[Dzhanoyan] It is essential to bear in mind that regardless whether home furniture was insured or not, compensation would be paid for the lost household property at standards as provided for by the decree: 4,000 rubles for single citizens, 7,000 rubles for the two members of a family and 1,500 rubles for each following family member.

[Correspondent] Since the issue has been raised of the membership of a family, in calculating compensation should they count for lost household property those infants born after the earthquake or those who are not yet born?

[Dzhanoyan] Those born immediately after the earthquake should be accounted for in the given family and receive compensation for property. Because of this, the payments to the families must not be drawn out.

[Correspondent] Not all of the questions arising today have been settled by the decree of 15 December 1988. Might you not tell us what questions these are and how they should be settled?

[Dzhanoyan] Among such questions, for example, is compensation for losses of cooperatives. The questions concerning the shareholders of the housing construction cooperatives have not been completely settled and here it is also essential to consider the circumstance that subsequently the apartments will be turned over on new principles to them as property. Also on the agenda is the question of retiring the credit of citizens who were killed as a result of the earthquake and who had previously taken out such a credit in the aims of individual housing construction. Arguments have also been made for compensating in some form the loss of the amateur bee raisers. All of this is being investigated by the republic Council of Ministers and soon an answer will be given to these questions. In conclusion I would like to add that also among the still unresolved questions is one which concerns us greatly, that is, the construction by citizens in quake-struck population points of own apartments by their own forces with the most serious concern of the state. In this area the republic leadership is taking active measures over a number of questions which are outside the limits of republic competence. I can say that there are provisions to set up a method for providing an easy credit and this, we assume, should encourage the construction of private housing by the citizens.

**ArSSR: Labor Commission Chairman on  
Post-Crisis Workforce Normalization**  
*18300498b Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian*  
24 Feb 89 p 3

[Interview with I. Semenov, chairman of the Armenian State Committee for Labor, by unnamed Armenpress correspondent: "Problems Concerning the Public"]

[Text] In line with the disaster in Armenia, many workers in the disaster zone have lost their jobs. What measures are being taken to provide them with employment and to involve others in eliminating the earthquake's consequences. The Armenpress correspondent turned with these and other questions of most concern to the public to the Chairman of the Armenian State Committee for Labor I. Semenov.

[Correspondent] What work is being done in the disaster areas to provide employment for the persons who lost their jobs?

[Semenov] As a result of the earthquake, 167,000 jobs were lost with one-half of them in industry. Presently, measures are being taken so that all the persons who lost their job would be provided with employment. The Decree of the USSR Council of Ministers of 15 December 1988, No. 1424 "On Providing Aid to the Armenian Population Suffering as a Result of the Earthquake" and

the analogous decree of the Armenian Council of Ministers of 17 December 1988, No. 654, order the ministries and departments, the enterprises and organizations, the ispolkoms of the rayon and city soviets to take immediate measures to provide employment for persons who lost this as a result of the earthquake.

Proceeding from this, the ministries and departments, the enterprises and organizations and the ispolkoms of the soviets are working out the appropriate measures to involve the workers in social production.

Thus, the Armenian Minlegprom [Ministry of Light Industry] which is responsible for around a quarter of all the lost jobs has done substantial work to involve its employees in production. Over the period from the beginning of the current year, of the 44,400 employees remaining in the disaster zones, the ministry has already placed 15,900 persons. Moreover, 2,800 persons have been placed temporarily outside the disaster zone. The question of job placement for the remaining is being settled.

Before the end of the year, not only will the latter be placed but also those employees who are now evacuated.

Equally timely work is being carried out in the Armenian Minmestprom [Ministry of Local Industry]. The number of persons without a job presently living in the disaster zones is approximately 35,000-40,000 persons. At the same time there is a shortage of workers in a number of the building professions, among farm workers, engineers and technicians and white collar personnel. As paradoxical as it may seem, in the disaster zones there are vacant positions for engineers, technicians and white collar personnel. Thus, Spitak is looking for construction engineers, economists, bookkeepers and so forth and in Kirovakan there are also vacant jobs. The job placement bureaus are carrying out great work to provide employment for persons in the disaster areas and these are determining the availability of vacant positions and informing the public of this, they are determining the need of the enterprises for manpower and are providing help in supplying it.

It must be pointed out that presently the republic has around 10,000 vacant jobs in addition to the disaster zones.

[Correspondent] As is known, a large number of republic citizens is moving to other regions of the nation for employment. What role is being assigned to this category of citizens in carrying out the construction and rebuilding work?

[Semenov] Each year, approximately 20,000 persons leave Armenia for jobs and they represent an active skilled labor force and here great importance is given to their employment in construction and repair work. Even now these persons, in wishing to participate in reconstruction work in the home republic, are turning to us

with a request to send them to the disaster zone. But because the construction organizations lack plots, design-estimate specifications, material-technical resources and other unsolved questions, they cannot begin work and hire those who would so desire. It is feared that this category of employee, called travelers, is not accustomed to wasting time and regardless of the requests to remain might still leave the republic for a job.

Here, in benefiting from the occasion, we feel it advisable to request that the leaders of the construction organizations be quicker in resolving the questions of starting up work and that the travelers might show their civil duty and refrain during these difficult days for the republic from leaving. There is enough work for all. Even now our organizations are already sending labor resources to the construction organizations which can receive them and begin operations. Those who linger can be deprived of a skilled, active labor force.

[Correspondent] As is known, the republic has residing here a large number of persons who have come from Azerbaijan and who are without work. Are they being involved in reconstruction work?

[Semenov] The Decree of the Armenian Council of Ministers of 10 February 1989, No. 70, "On Measures to Prevent the Migration of the Population and on Sociodomestic Amenities for Persons Who Have Left Their Permanent Places of Residence" permits job placement and temporary registration of persons who have arrived in the republic as a result of mass migration, with the exception of the cities: Yerevan, Abovyan, Charentsavan, Razdan, Ashtarak, Echmiadzin, Oktembryan, Artashat, Ararat as well as Abovyanskiy, Ashtarakskiy, Nairiyskiy, Masisskiy, Echmiadzinskiy, Araratskiy, Artashatskiy and Oktemberbyanskiy Rayons.

The Armenian Goskomtrud [State Labor Committee] has been permitted to carry out organized hiring from among arriving persons to be sent to the disaster zone. In following this, the labor bodies on the spot in all rayons will record those desiring to work in construction and reconstruction jobs and send them to the corresponding construction organizations. The hiring of a labor force for the disaster zone will be announced through the rayon and republic mass information media. For this reason, we have a request for persons arriving from Azerbaijan and who have construction professions and desire to work in construction and reconstruction jobs—sign up in the labor bodies at the point of temporary residence. Persons who do not have construction professions may also sign up in order that they can organize courses for accelerated training in the required professions in those rayons where there is a large number of persons desiring to undergo training and obtain the appropriate profession.

[Correspondent] A large number of construction workers is required to rebuild the disaster zones. The republic does not possess such potential. In line with this what is being done in the area of training and retraining personnel?

[Semenov] For the reconstruction and construction work, we will have to find tens of thousands of additional workers and these the republic lacks. For this reason, the labor bodies are collecting requests from the construction organizations in order to be able ahead of time to seek out the sources for satisfying the requirements of construction for labor resources. In truth, for the above-given reasons, many construction organizations are finding it difficult to submit requests. But even now the Republic Center for Job Placement, Retraining and Vocational Guidance of the Public has received requests for 23,200 construction workers. The center will send those desiring to obtain a construction profession for training and retraining to the Republic Training Center of the Armenian Gosstroy.

The training process can be organized under an accelerated program in all the equipment operator and general construction jobs in the cities of Yerevan, Leninakan, Kirovakan, Spitak and Stepanavan.

We invite those who so desire to turn to the job placement bureau at their place of residence. The conditions for the retraining of personnel have been published in the press (the newspaper KOMMUNIST, 24 January 1989).

In particular, during instruction at the Training Center of the Armenian Gosstroy, a stipend of 102 rubles a month will be paid. Food and dormitories are provided. The construction organizations should conclude the appropriate contracts for training the personnel and transfer funds for covering these expenditures. This question arises particularly acutely for the construction organizations which have arrived from other Union republics the employees of which are not familiar with masonry techniques with tuffa stone and plastering with local mortar.

[Correspondent] How will you solve the question of job placement for women with small children and who have lost their job?

[Semenov] The Decree of the USSR Council of Ministers establishes that women who have under-age children and who have lost their job as a result of the earthquake are to keep their average wage and uninterrupted length of employment for a period up to 6 months. Consequently, over the next 3 months, we must expect that the women evacuated from the disaster areas will begin returning. This must be remembered and we must prepare for this. The question of job placement for women should be settled by the enterprises and organizations where they were employed and this was already pointed out above. Here I would like to give the republic Minlegprom as an example of affirmative action as within the disaster zones its system employed 41,300 women before the earthquake, some 15,200 women and sick persons were evacuated and around 26,000 persons live in places of permanent residence. The figures are impressive and for this reason the ministry is taking a serious approach to

this question and adopting measures so that all will have jobs by the end of the current year. During the first quarter alone they plan to find jobs for around 30,000 persons.

Corresponding work is being carried out in the Armenian Minmestprom, the Goskomuslug [State Committee for Services] and elsewhere.

Great importance is being given to creating conditions for home work by women and this under the arising situation is a convenient form for labor activity for women having children.

[Correspondent] How are persons who lost their job as a result of the disaster to be paid?

[Semenov] According to Article 101 of the Armenian Labor Law Code, time spent idle when this is not at the fault of the worker or employee is paid figuring at least two-thirds of the wage rate in the salary category set for the worker. Special detailed information will be published in the press on the matter of the forms and methods of wages, the benefits and advantages for persons working in the disaster zones.

#### **Official on Role of Armenian Cooperatives in Post-Quake Recovery**

*18300498c Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian  
24 Feb 89 p 3*

[Interview with A. Shushyan, first deputy chairman of the Aykoop Board, by Correspondent S. Nuridzhanyan: "A Hard Test for Cooperative Members"]

[Text] The combating of the consequences of the disaster has been a major testing for many institutions and organizations in the republic. Among those who during these difficult days have been and are confronted with vitally important tasks are the republic consumer cooperatives which supply food to the towns and villages in the disaster zones as well as deliver vital necessities. How did Aykoop [Armenian Cooperative] operate in the emergency situation, what is being done now, what mistakes were made and what lessons drawn from them and what are the work prospects for the future?

Our correspondent spoke on these matters with the First Deputy Chairman of the Aykoop Board, A. Shushyan.

[Correspondent] Albert Kazarovich, even now we can already give the first results of the work done during this difficult hour of testing for all our people. The prime task of Aykoop was to provide the people without a roof over their heads with food, fuel and vital necessities. How do you feel, was everything possible done for carrying out this task?

[Shushyan] In the earthquake zone we lost around 75 percent of the trade and public dining facilities and in Spitakskiy Rayon, virtually everything. It was essential

to carry out the task of life support for the population and the rescue teams under unusual, emergency conditions. We did not know clearly what the situation was or how many people remained in a population point. A central operations staff was set up for resolving all these problems and upon the assignment of the staff in the second half of 7 December scores of experienced employees from the system were already on their way to the disaster area and after these they dispatched vehicles with food and vital necessities which had been provided for by 20 consumer societies in rayons which had not been devastated by the earthquake. On the second day we were able, with help from the aviators, to organize deliveries by helicopter.

Of course, such random aid and the issuing of food products and clothing to persons directly from the vehicles could not provide even distribution or uninterrupted supply. Even during the very first days, work was started in establishing a temporary network, initially public dining facilities and then trade. Field kitchens were sent first to the disaster areas and then tents where dining areas were set up. Measures were taken to rapidly deliver additional fuel and distribute it; building materials were handled the same.

As of now, in the population points of the seven rayons comprising the zone which was particularly devastated by the earthquake, we have organized 180 public dining enterprises and work has been resumed at more than 190 permanent retail trade enterprises. Some 20 bakeries have resumed output after reconstruction and repair work. A bakery sent from France producing pastry goods has begun operating in Spitak. A second such enterprise has already been received.

[Correspondent] What difficulties existed and now exist in the matter of life support for the population in the devastated rayons, were there errors and shortcomings in this undertaking and what lessons have been drawn?

[Shushyan] I have already said that the situation was an extreme one. The style of work had to be adapted, as they say, along the way. At first, there were also complaints of interruptions in bread delivery and the distribution of food on the spot. We are grateful to those who indicated to us the specific sore points and unsolved problems.

This has helped us in effectively focusing additional efforts on rectifying the various shortcomings. Soon contact was established by short wave radio with all our representatives in the disaster area. In having up-to-date information from the field on the need for various products and goods, we were able subsequently to sharply reduce the number of incoming complaints.

Thus, over the period since the earthquake, the disaster areas have received 5-fold more food products than before. But we also have complaints against the local authorities as they did not always clearly organize the issuing of food products and food trade.

Many organizations have provided us with great aid on the spot, but, unfortunately, there were also instances when it seemed that the results of many days of hard work were undone. Thus, the sanitary inspection service a month ago confronted us with the fact of closing our public dining facilities in Spitak. Can you imagine why? Due to the absence, as the statement says, of running water. One might ask just where we are to find this running water, when it is delivered in tanker trucks to the rayon? We would like for certain departments to approach their duties without bureaucratic delays.

[Correspondent] According to the available data, at present Aykoop serves 200,000 more persons than before the earthquake. Around another 100,000 construction workers will be arriving for rebuilding the towns and villages. And certainly the consumer cooperative network has suffered significantly?

[Shushyan] In the 18 rayons and 2 towns which were in the disaster area, 1,749 facilities suffered out of the 2,416. Some 982 stores, 568 public dining enterprises and 67 warehouses, storage and refrigeration capacity were destroyed and damaged along with a large amount of industrial and transport enterprises, bakeries, markets and other facilities.

In Leninakan, Akhuryan, Spitak and Stepanavan, around 90 percent of the designated facilities were destroyed and are not to be rebuilt. Moreover, 767 leased spaces were put out of service.

The total damage caused to the consumer cooperatives is 140 million rubles. At present, we lack 1,897 employees in the system.

The work of rebuilding the physical plant will be carried out in three stages. The first and second stages involve the setting up of a temporary network considering the organization of temporary public dining and trade facilities in each population point. Here gradually the dining rooms in tents will be taken down and "moved" to pavilions which are being set up in all the devastated areas on a basis of calculations to supply the population and worker brigades. We will set up a total of over 200 hangars, pavilions, trailers and booths. This work will be completed in the first quarter of 1989 and this will make it possible for us to have a permanent network which satisfies the needs of the entire population and the construction workers.

We are hopeful that Aykoop will be allocated the necessary additional funds for food. Along with this we are undertaking specific steps to sharply increase the volume of our own products including sausage and bakery goods, canned goods and other food products.

The third stage which is planned for 2 years is the recreating of the physical plant. The USSR Tsentrosoyuz [Central Consumer Society Union] and the Aykoop Board have approved an integrated program for reconstruction work. Some 86 million rubles have been allocated for these purposes.

### **Explanation of Events Leading to Trial of AzSSR 'Cotton Mafia'**

18300482 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA  
in Russian 25 Mar 89 p 2

[Article by Talekh Gamid, poet, Leninist Komsomol Prize Winner: "Field of Miracles"]

[Text] In the AzSSR Supreme Court, the trial has begun in the case of the mass inflated reporting of cotton in Shamkhorskiy Rayon. In the dock are the former first secretary of the Shamkhorskiy Party Raykom, G. Veliyev, the deputy of the chief of the rayon department of internal affairs, Z. Kyazimov, the chief of the rayon department of public education, M. Gadzhiyev, the director of the Akstafa Cotton-Cleaning Plant, M. Mukhtarov, and others—a total of 27 people. More than 22 million rubles—that, according to preliminary data, is the total sum of damage from inflated reporting and thefts in the rayon during the period from 1979 to 1982. Prior to this, cases were already examined involving incrimination of the directors and workers of 13 state farms of the region with misappropriations and bribery. The present trial will last several months. It will review the criminal actions of the "cotton" mafia of rayon magnitude and make an assessment of what is known in the republic as the "Shamkhor" Affair.

At the railway station, not long ago, I met an old acquaintance, a person from the same district. He looked depressed. Only the eyes sparkled in the face overgrown with stubble. I greeted him. He looked up wearily, recognizing me with difficulty. I had heard that several years ago, they put him in prison. Now, having seen him here, I decided that he had been released and was on his way home. It turned out that the trial is not yet finished. And he was at the railway station because the court had allowed him to go to his mother's funeral. Speaking with him, I remembered many of my countrymen with a similar fate.

About 5 years ago, it would not have entered anyone's mind that these people, who, year in, year out, exceeded the plans, and attained record harvests, the holders of decorations, would turn out to be in the dock. Almost within the hour, dozens of criminal proceedings were instituted against almost the entire leadership of Shamkhorskiy Rayon.

On one of the December days in 1969, a decree of the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee "On Serious Shortcomings in the Development of the Public Animal Husbandry Farms in the Kolkhozes and Sovkhozes of

Shamkhorskiy and Kedabekskiy Rayons" was published in the republic press. This was the year when Gaydar Aliyev, the new, energetic secretary, headed the party organization.

During the same month of December, the Shamkhorskiy Party Raykom was strengthened with the new first secretary, Mamed Askerov. And all at once—as if by magic—all the problems of the rayon were solved. Already after 2 months, the sheep (evidently to mark the arrival of the new secretary) yielded twice as much. During a single year, the number of large cattle increased by 2,177 head, small cattle—by 9,935, and poultry—by 42,432. The distinguished milkmaid Shamama Movsumova whispered into the ears of the brown cows, and the cows, having under the old leadership produced 1,800 liters of milk, almost doubled the milk yield. But the Shamama's aunt pledged to bring this indicator to 4,500 liters.

The new secretary meanwhile had not yet succeeded in visiting all the farms of the rayon. What is more, he was in no hurry to do so. He had his own principle of work. Making up for lost sleep during the day, he held office until 3 o'clock in the morning, sent for people, and "picked them to pieces." His method quickly brought results: On the basis of the results for 1970, M. Askerov was awarded the Order of Lenin.

But this year, and the following years as well, had other results. At the end of the 1970's, the shepherd of the Put Ilyicha Kolkhoz burned himself. An exceptional case for Azerbaijan—men here do not end their life by self-immolation. . . . The faked figures drove people to despair. Almost at the same time, another shepherd of this same kolkhoz hanged himself for the same reasons. In the mid-1980's, the director of one of the sovkhozes of Shamkhor, Sh. Rustamov, committed suicide.

Scientists have demonstrated that the climatic conditions of the Western regions of Azerbaijan, including Shamkhor, are not suitable for cotton-growing. The energetic secretary refuted their fantasies. New miracles were performed. In the Socialism Kolkhoz, the brigade of Maral Guliyeva harvested 41.1 quintals per hectare, the brigade of Zeynal Zeynalov—38 quintals, and the brigade of Rakhshanda Verdiyeva at the Kolkhoz imeni Lenin—34 quintals. The staff members of the Azerbaijan Scientific Research Institute for Cotton-Growing were stupefied—the maximum yield obtained prior to this from an experimental field did not exceed 27 quintals. The leaders of the republic threw Shamkhor in their teeth, saying that the scientific indicators lag behind the economic ones.

M. S. Askerov, a delegate to the 24th CPSU Congress, returned from it inspired with new ideas and dreams. And at once he through out the slogan: The five-year plan in 4 years. The striking and ringing initiative was joined by Astarinskiy, Agdzhahbedinskiy, Zakatalskiy, Lenkoranskiy and other rayons of the republic. Of all

these rayons, they planted cotton only in Agdzhabedin-skiy Rayon, where the chair of the first secretary of the party raykom still held the heat of M. Askerov.

This ended with the fact that the residents of Shamkhor pledged to sell to the state 73,000 tons of cotton during the 9th Five-Year Plan, and in 1973 the star of Hero of Socialist Labor began to sparkle on the secretary's chest. It was necessary to disseminate the experience of Shamkhor throughout the republic and for M. Askerov to become minister of agriculture of Azerbaijan, having ceded the secretarial chair to a colleague in Dashkesan-skiy Rayon, Gidayat Veliyev, who was completely in the dark about the machinations of the cotton-growing affair. The new first secretary came to Shamkhor at a difficult time. It was necessary at any cost to not only maintain the former indicators, but also to raise them still higher. To the assistance came enterprising people, who knew how to attain the universal means for the harvesting and drying of cotton—ten-ruble notes. Everything was invented dashingly. In the fields of Shamkhor myriads of owls—pests of the cotton plant—were “discovered.” Not only kolkhoz workers, workers and employees, but also school children and even people. . . who had died several years before were thrown in to destroy them through piece by piece collection by hand. That, at any rate, is how it appears on the lists compiled during those years in the farms of the rayon. About the thousands of rubles received by every one of them for the extermination of the owls, the “collectors” themselves found out only in the questioning by investigators.

Where did the millions go? “For the purchase of cotton, meat, milk, wool, and eggs,” replied the directors of the sovkhozes of Shamkhor Rayon. But if there were purchases somewhere, then someone nevertheless produced all this? Well, yes, but no. Not products were purchased, but empty figures. In the middle money revolved, and in the tables of socialist competition, being daily published in the newspapers, the fight for first place went on.

Somehow in 1983 there was a strong hail in Shamkhor. At this time, the Moscow poet A. Parpara, who was on a visit, and I went to Shamkhor. After the strong hail, which practically had beaten down all the vegetables, the intense heat scorched everyone around. In the cotton plantations, bare shrubs were growing dark on which already not a single blossom is blooming. How great our astonishment, when the first secretary said that the plan for the delivery of cotton will be fulfilled without fail.

The secretary was not joking, he was a man of his word. Literally after a few days, having summoned the director of the Shamkhor Motor Depot, A. Abbasov, at 2 a.m., he ordered him to write a statement requesting his transfer to the chief engineers. Why here the director of the director of the motor depot, you say. Here is why. A temporary “embargo” was established on the “sale” of cotton. Until a decent position will be found for a man close to the minister of the cotton-cleaning industry at the time. But he insisted: Either the directorship of the

motor depot, or nothing! And just as soon as the official of the Akstafa Cotton-Cleaning Plant became the director of the Shamkhor Motor Depot, the caravans of vehicles “set out on their way.”

I am leafing through the newspaper of those years. In the reports from the cotton front of Azerbaijan for 1983, Shamkhor occupies last place. And suddenly, beginning on 19 October, the daily increase jumps up by 3.9 percent. This figure could not possibly be believed, either then or now. The cold weather set in. During the nights, the cotton-plant shrubs, which had grown to the height of a man, were covered with the thick hoar-frost of fall. But no one was interested in where to get these 3.9 percent of cotton. They say, that supposedly no one among the republic leaders of that time know about all of this. Is this so?

At that time, there existed a tradition. When the first secretary of the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee went out to the regions, he was accompanied by a group of the creative intelligentsia. I, too, took part in one of the these trips. I remember, the reports of party raykom secretaries were heard. From one of them, who had promised to turn over 30,000 tons of cotton, G. Aliyev demanded the assumption of additional obligations for 5,000 tons more. Everything had already been sown and calculated. From where was this additional cotton supposed to be gathered?

Somehow I once happened to be in the office of the former first secretary of the Shamkhor Party Raykom, but now the defendant G. Beliyev. Our conversation was cut short by the exacting ringing of the telephone.

“Hello, Isa Aliyevich!”

“Shamkhor is getting heavy rains. . . .”

“Really, impossible!”

“I am listening, it will be fulfilled!”

The secretary, having put the receiver down, wiped up the beads of sweat that had appeared on his forehead. He sat down in silence. Then he pressed a button.

“Comrade Mamedov said that today we must without fail hand over 3 percent of the cotton. No rains whatever. The republic is delaying the report!”

Comrade, Isa Aliyevich Mamedov, in the fall of the past year promoted to membership in the Central Committee, at the Plenum of the Azerbaijan CPCentral Committee, in those years occupied the post of secretary of the republic CP Central Committee, who had cured agriculture. . . .

The cotton-grower, the raykom secretary, the first secretary of the republic CP Central Committee, and the officials of the administrative organs, as well as the

Moscow commissions which came to Shamkhor on the basis of signals from workers and left with smooth reports—all of them violated the law. But it was primarily the cotton-growers who were called to account. Because it was he who left "traces," it was he who compiled and signed the forged documents. But the telephone calls? Telephone calls are not documents.

But an old rule still remains in vogue. Thus, not having asked the farmer, the master of the land, for an answer to the question of where, in what rayon and village one can (and is it necessary to) plant cotton, we again await the orders of Gosplan.

We have not yet drawn all the lessons from the Shamkhor drama. We have not answered the main question: Why did all this prove to be possible? I think, because in the rayon there did not prove to be forces capable of resisting the pernicious impact of corruption. No one stood up for the desecrated land. Those who could have and should have done this—the farmers—have not been around for a long time. It is those who have been instructed and those who execute who have remained. And the no man's land.

Beginning in 1985, cotton is no longer planted in Shamkhor. Upstairs they finally agreed that the weather and climatic conditions here are "not cotton" conditions, and . . . selected a new, appropriate single-crop system—grapes.

#### **Baku Higher Party School Roundtable on Interethnic Relations**

18300477 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian  
10 Feb 89 pp 1-2

[Azerinform report, under rubric "Towards the CPSU Central Committee Plenum on Questions of Improving Interethnic Relations": "Working Together to Search for Paths and to Resolve Problems"]

[Text] **Perestroyka and the national question—that is how one can define the topic of a roundtable that was held at the Baku Higher Party School. Participants in the roundtable discussion included representatives of the Academy of Social Sciences, under CPSU Central Committee, philosophers, historians, economists, jurists, sociologists, literary and artistic figures, and party and soviet workers.**

The roundtable session was conducted by BVPSH [Baku Higher Party School] rector **T. K. Kocharli**, corresponding member of AzSSR Academy of Sciences.

Opening the discussion, Professor **I. I. Antonovich**, pro-rector of the Academy of Sciences, under CPSU Central Committee, said, in particular: Tremendous harm has been inflicted on the development of interethnic relations by the idea that was done for outward effect—the idea of fusing nations together, which became the basis of the policy not so much for reinforcing the friendship and mutual understanding of the nations in the country,

as for their mechanical leveling and the annihilation of national differences and individualities. The restoration of the Leninist concept of the national question represents a theoretical and political task of primary importance. In order to improve the interethnic relations and restructure the entire national policy, there is no other path than the resolution of the basic socioeconomic tasks and problems of each region, each nation and nationality and the granting of the opportunities to develop their own language, cultural traditions, and customs.

Preparation for the CPSU Central Committee Plenum of Interethnic Relations must become a program for intensive intellectual and organizational work to improve national policy and interethnic relations. In this regard the speakers expressed a number of views.

First: a very urgent task for the party committees is learning how to differentiate in the national movement between the positive elements that are "working" for socialism, internationalism, and the friendship of nations, and the nationalistic moods that are capable of sowing discord among the nations of the USSR.

Second: every republic must have today its own version for resolving the national questions, a version that will correspond as much as possible to its historical conditions, individuality, and socioeconomic opportunities. The paths to interethnic cooperation can be different. It is important only that the measures that are being taken work to improve the friendship between nations.

Third: one of these principles is the development of the self-government of the nationalities within the confines of the federal structure. This, of course, requires a colossal amount of work. But it is possible only in this manner to guarantee the true flourishing of the national within the framework of our unity.

Fourth: the development of the country as a single national-economic complex does not have any alternative. Emphasizing economic independence in the sovereignty of the republics can lead to opposite results—economic self-isolation and the unevenness in the development of the economic regions. A strong center and strong republics—there is no other path for guaranteeing the proper balance.

Fifth: a special question about language. It is necessary to take legislative steps to guarantee the survival of the language of every nation, even the smallest one. The sole condition for the normal development of national languages can be only bilingualism, the use of the language of the indigenous population and the Russian language as a language of interethnic communication.

Sixth: the new level of interethnic relations also requires a new level of democracy. Only a careful search for the resolution of every problem that arises in this sphere can yield its political result, with the proviso that the decision must be acceptable to all the interested parties. The

result of this universal consent can be a union-level treaty of nationalities, which must be developed on the basis of the attention study of the experience of the interethnic policy throughout the entire period of the Soviet authority and the problems that occurred during the course of that experience.

D. P. Guliyev, director of the Institute of Party History, under the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee, doctor of historical sciences, stated: For a long time our social studies have viewed in a simplified manner the development of interethnic relations in the country, speaking only about the unity and the interrelationship of two processes: the internationalization of all aspects of life, on the one hand, and the flourishing of each nation and nationality, on the other. But at such time little was said about the existence also of dialectical contradictions between these two processes. However, those contradictions do exist, as has been attested to by the events in and around Nagornyy Karabakh and by the negative manifestations in the Baltic republics, Kazakhstan, and other regions. A detrimental effect was exerted on the development and the condition of the interethnic relations by the methods of administration by means of fiat, the beginning of which was laid by the Stalin personality cult. This manifested itself especially in the trans-Caucasian republics. At one time N. Narimanov, first chairman of AzSSR Sovnarkom [Council of People's Commissars] and one of the chairmen of USSR TsIK [Central Executive Committee], wrote about this. Incidentally, at that time he supported the Georgian Communists in the struggle against great-power tendencies. Unfortunately, the commission consisting of Ye. Yaroslavskiy, G. Petrovskiy, and M. Shkiryatov, which arrived in Azerbaijan in 1923, did not analyze the state of affairs in the republic and evaluated unobjectively N. Narimanov's position. We are currently restoring that V. I. Lenin called upon us so persistently to do, and that N. Narimanov spoke about, that is, the taking of a solicitous attitude toward nations, small peoples, and national minorities, the need to take into consideration national traditions and the peculiarities of the development of the economy and the culture. The administrative-fiat system continues today to lie as a heavy load on the country's development and this, in its turn, gives rise to unhealthy phenomena in the economy, in the social and cultural spheres, and in the area of interethnic relations.

I would also like to touch upon the question of the growth of national self-awareness. As a whole, that phenomenon is a positive one. However, it is necessary to take into consideration the dialectics of that process, and the existence in it of a broad spectrum of dissimilar tendencies. The hypertrophied understanding of this process can sometimes develop into the attempt to achieve self-isolation, particularly in spiritual and cultural life.

As for the idea of the establishment of new national-territorial formations, I feel that one should not be carried away by this. The national problems should be

resolved by granting every nation, nationality, and ethnic group all the conditions for its complete social and spiritual development.

And there is something else. In 1956 a paragraph was introduced into the AzSSR Constitution, to the effect that the Azerbaijani language is the state language. But the introduction of the paragraph which has also been preserved in the republic's Constitution that is currently in effect, was not accompanied by any realistic measures to create the conditions for studying that language. At the same time it is necessary to emphasize the need for the further development of Azerbaijani-Russian bilingualism that has been established in the republic.

Response (Z. M. Kasumov, deputy chief of the State and Law Department, Azerbaijan CP Central Committee, candidate of legal sciences): It is good reason that this idea runs through our Constitution, where, while declaring that Azerbaijani is the state language, it is stipulated that, on the basis of equal rights in the republic, a guarantee is made for the free use in state and public agencies and in cultural, educational, and other institutions primarily of the Russian language, as well as other languages that are used by the population of the particular locality. Guarantees of the equality of languages are also mentioned in another article of the Constitution that deals with court procedures in the republic.

Nabi Khazri, chairman of the presidium of the Azerbaijani Society for Friendship and Cultural Ties with Foreign Countries, and Azerbaijani People's Poet: I would like to recall the wise words of Maksim Gorkiy, who said that the amount of talent does not depend upon the size of the nation. Even small nations can give the world great talents. The correctness of this statement is being confirmed by history.

I would also like to mention the problems of language and its application. It seems to me that the most important thing is not the introduction into the Constitution of the status of a language as being the state language. What is important is the attitude toward it. Today we all say a lot and have been doing even a lot more to achieve the broader use of our native language. This, of course, is a prolonged process, but it is a necessary one, and what is required here is the application of common efforts—by scientists, publishers, literary figures, journalists, and the entire intellectual class, which has been called upon to be the spiritual guiding force of the nation.

From the statement made by Professor R. A. Aliyev, chief of the Ideology Department, Azerbaijan CP Central Committee: The research, study, and administration of the processes of the development of interethnic development are very important tasks. I would like to say a few words about the problem of administration and decision-making in this area. In our country it is possible to count on our fingers the number of specialists dealing with social and ethnosocial conflicts, and it is apparently



for the reason that those questions are so very complicated. However, there exists a good set of tools for learning about these processes—computer modeling. Administration can begin when we can define the condition of the object and the vector of components (particularly the national's social self-awareness) that defines the particular subject area.

Unfortunately we have not yet mastered these questions of administration sufficiently, and we sometimes make decisions with regard to complicated questions of interethnic relations under conditions of a serious shortage of information concerning them. Therefore it seems to me that today, when there has been an especially large growth of the self-awareness among nations, the decisions that are being made and that touch upon the interests of the republic require greater argumentation.

It is only by carrying out a systems study of the entire series of questions and the objective regularities that one can administer the interethnic relations efficiently. I would like to give an example. The lack of any forecasting of the situation in and around NKAO [Nagornyy Karabakh Autonomous Oblast], the delay in reacting to the development of events, and the lack of precise information and of initiatory decisions dictate the need to develop a system for modeling the development of social conflicts, by using the joint efforts of philosophers, political scientists, historians, and cyberneticists, and this can hope, in turn, to develop a system of intellectual expertise for forecasting and the making of decisions and recommendations aimed at improving the situation.

In order to resolve even local conflicts, and especially to resolve major problems of interethnic relations, it is necessary to take into consideration all the social, national, and psychological factors, using systems analysis and the methods of modeling humanistic systems that are close to the human conceptualizing process.

Response (A. F. Dashdamirov, chief, State and Law Department, Azerbaijan CP Central Committee, corresponding member of AzSSR Academy of Sciences): The problem of the modeling of the interethnic conflict, like that of the modeling of the social conflict in general, must definitely be resolved with a consideration of the actual interests of all the interacting sides. We say that there are current interests and that there are long-term interests for the nation, but what do they consist of? What is their structure? Wherein do the interests of the various nations diverge, and wherein do they coincide? If one does not analyze all these factors, it is difficult to develop a serious policy, not to mention the overcoming of the conflict situations.

The discussion was continued by Z. A. Samed-zade, chief of the Socioeconomic Department, Azerbaijan CP Central Committee, corresponding member of AzSSR Academy of Sciences: The economic mechanism that is in effect that the present time was constructed without the proper consideration of the regional factors and it does

not contribute to the consistent resolution of the tasks of equalizing the level of socioeconomic development of the union republics. The predominance of the administrative fiat methods, the excessive concentration of resources in the central departments, and the narrowing of the economic base of the local agencies lead to the breakdown of the territorial proportions and give rise to serious socioeconomic problems. For the time being there is no mechanism for regulating the relations between the produced national income and the used national income from positions of the interests of the region and the country's single national-economic complex. Here is one example. As a result of the mistakes and miscalculations in territorial planning and the lack of a comprehensive approach to the development of the productive forces in our republic, for a period of many years the used national income has been growing at a considerably slower rate than the produced national income. As a result, the size of the social consumption funds per capita of population and the extent to which the public is provided with services and with structures in the social infrastructure, despite the real material opportunities, have been growing at insignificant rates, and the gap that has developed between the country and the other regions is being eliminated extremely slowly, and in certain instances is even increasing. All this leads to violations of the principle of social justice and has an effect on the interethnic relations.

If we want to achieve (and we definitely must do this) significant results in developing and deepening interethnic relations, then we must closely coordinate all this work with a fundamental restructuring of the planning and administration of the economy.

It is necessary, while still at the stage of developing the plans for the 13th Five-Year Plan, to activate new approaches to regional planning and administration, to expand the republics' economic independence, and to begin to introduce principles of regional cost accountability.

But on the whole the restructuring of territorial administration and of the economic mechanism of interaction between the central and the republic-level agencies, and the expanse of the regions' economic independence, must guarantee the further strengthening of the single national-economic complex, and must promote the more complete implementation of the advantages of the territorial division of labor in the interests of our entire multinational state and every union republic.

From a statement made by Dzh. B. Guliyev, vice-president of the AzSSR Academy of Sciences, academician of AzSSR Academy of Sciences: First of all it is necessary to think about the condition of our theory, since without that theory we will not be able to move ahead. It is necessary to introduce clarity into many of our theoretical principles. Certain people raise the question of whether Marxist-Leninist theory concerning the national question has become obsolete, or whether that theory has

been exhausted. I feel that it is not obsolete, but it requires enrichment with new experience. It can be said that we did not develop or enrich the Leninist program on the national question after 1925. On the contrary, to a certain degree we forgot it. Take, for example, our region. The Leninist heritage consists of approximately 500 documents dealing with events in the Caucasus.

Here a question relative to the influence of subjective factors arises. I must say that one of the reasons for the events—not only in Karabakh, but also throughout the country—lies in the fact that we have occupied a position of waiting things out, both theoretically and socioeconomically, and we have thought that the national question was resolved and there was nothing for people to do about it. That idea was erroneous. The national question will exist so long as peoples and nations exist.

There is one more question—the question of the attitude toward historical experience. I feel that, when resolving the national problem, it is of great importance. We must not ignore the theoretical interpretation of the lessons of history or the succession of policy.

I would also like to mention the sovereignty of the republics and the versions for resolving the national question that are inherent only in them. The taking into account of the peculiarities of every republic, obviously, is necessary. I understand that, in the course of carrying out perestroika and of creating a rule-of-law socialist state, we must consider and resolve these questions. But we must not forget the highest interests of the Soviet nation, or the federation of Soviet republics as a whole. It is necessary for those interests—republic and union—not to contradict one another, but, rather, to supplement one another, and work for socialism.

Opinion of **F. K. Khalilov**, chairman of the board of governors of the Azerbaijan Artists' Union: I completely agree with the thesis of bilingualism. This is certainly the minimum. One can also speak of trilingualism or more, because in the model world it is insufficient to try to live by using only one's own language. It is ridiculous to oppose this. We must have a long-term program, we must have people who will work to develop this program. I also want to support the idea of the need to create the conditions for the full development of any nation, nationality, or ethnic group.

As everyone knows, in the 1970's and 1980's the rates of socioeconomic development in our country slowed down, and that, naturally, causes discontent among the population and reflects on people's morale and their psychological state. At the same time these shortcomings at times take on national coloration and are perceived as a lack of the proper concern. In my opinion this is a very important psychological aspect of developing interethnic relations.

From a statement by **F. A. Faradzhev**, deputy chairman of AzSSR Gosplan: The reform of the political system and the fundamental reform of the economy presuppose the increase in the independence and responsibility of the republics and the autonomous formations for the development of their own economy and social sphere. However, the practice of regional administration and planning that has developed has been encountering contradictions which, as a rule, are bounded by the confines of administrative-national formations and are perceived as causing detriment to national interests.

Life requires the development of new approaches that are based on the concept of the restructuring of the administration of the economy and the social sphere on principles of self-government and self-financing. Today the most acceptable platform has been developed, with realistic guarantees and expanded rights and opportunities for the republic, with the simultaneous intensification of the processes of the internationalization of the economic life of the Soviet state. With its aid we shall resolve not only the economic, but also the national problems that are inherent in any territory of the country where one continues to observe poor organization, bureaucratic methods of administration by fiat, corruption, and pressure exerted by the local center. This poor organization of people creates an unfavorable social background that is skillfully used by the extremist elements. The improvement of national relations, I am convinced, requires a well thought-out, comprehensive, systems-type approach.

Statement by **F. M. Badalbeyli**, professor at Azerbaijan State Conservatory imeni Uz. Gadzhibekov: Underestimating the fact that concealed opponents of perestroika are playing a political game around the national question would be naive and simply short-sighted. Some of the intellectuals in the republics where interethnic relations have become acute have proved to be unprepared for the events and have not always taken a sober, scientific approach to evaluating the situation. I would like to note that national arrogance is a national inferiority complex and in general it is simply unintellectual to extol one's nation artificially. Nationalism is a dangerous social phenomenon and one must fight it mercilessly.

Statement by Professor **B. O. Kurbanov**, department head, Institute of Arts: Without a resolution of the questions that are linked with people's social participation and with their political philosophy, it will scarcely be possible to resolve the questions of interethnic relations or the cultivation of communication among nationalities. Most frequently our culturologists and sociologists, when resolving questions of interethnic communication or the cultivation of communication among nationalities, limit themselves to economic questions. And this is completely nature. But wherever insufficient attention was paid to the resolution of ideological questions, arrogance, chauvinism, nihilism, and nationalism have reared their head.

From statement made by **K. G. Zaliyev**, acting director of the republic's Palace of the Friendship of the Nations of the USSR, AzSSR Academy of Sciences, candidate of philosophical sciences: Perestroyka has revealed shortcomings also in the national question. A system of measures is required to resolve this problem. And certainly the first step in implementing these measures must be the development of the theoretical principles that are based on the realities of modern-day life.

Our reaction to conflicts in the sphere of national relations attests once again to the theoretical helplessness. Why has theoretical thought proven to be in debt to the practice of national relations? The chief reason is the lack, during the years of stagnation, of a clearly expressed social need for the profound and objective revelation of the natural laws underlying the development of national relations, or their contradictory nature. And, in addition, the protection of local interests and the manifestations of national limitation and arrogance and of nationalism and chauvinism required, for purposes of concealing and preserving themselves, a kind of ideological fog that lulled people with its laudatory words. "Works" such as this became a barrier on the path of the Marxist-Leninist cognition of the dialectics of national relations.

A decision has been made to create the Institute of National Relations. But the crux of the matter is not just in organizing it. It is necessary carry out a fundamental restructuring of the entire job of improving interethnic relations.

Opinion of **E. R. Ismailov**, assistant professor, Department of the History of the CPSU, School of History, AGU [Azerbaijan State University] imeni S. M. Kirov, candidate of historical sciences: Many problems of national relations occur at the places where economy, sociology, and philosophy overlap. The largest problem is the complete development of nations invariably against the background of the overall upsurge of Soviet society as a whole. The question is whether this development will be guaranteed by national-cultural autonomy. Elements of this autonomy have always existed. Everything rests upon the resolution of the social problems, and upon the improvement of the social structure and social relations.

Response (**I. I. Antonovich**): In my opinion, it is precisely national-cultural autonomy that will guarantee the powers, the right to the dignity of the smallest ethnic group. But then it is necessary to develop a model, a kind of system to guarantee a complete balance.

**D. P. Guliyev**: It seems to me that it is not necessary to develop a special model. When creating autonomies, it is necessary to proceed from the desires and needs of the population itself.

**F. M. Badalbeyli**: Certainly the national minorities must have the right to choose various forms of preserving and developing their culture, language, traditions, and customs, whether that be the creation of clubs, the publishing of literature in the native language, or the opening of schools and theaters.

**Z. M. Kasumov**: The creation of autonomy is a serious question, because national-cultural independence, obviously, will also exert an influence upon the social structure of the population and the formation of its political and cultural level.

It is precisely for this reason that one should pay the most careful attention to the idea expressed by Comrade M. S. Gorbachev at the special session of USSR Supreme Soviet concerning the return to the practice of the first post-October years, when national rayons and rural soviets were created in places of dense population of the national minorities. During those years our country had approximately 250 such rayons and more than 5000 rural soviets.

**E. R. Ismailov**: Many misfortunes have their start in the schools. It seems to me that the curricula in the Russian-language schools in the national republic must be constructed differently, so that the schoolchildren will have identical success in mastering the two languages.

Response (**I. I. Antonovich**): The schools must correspond to the national conditions of each republic. It is completely obvious that the nature of Russian language instruction in the various republics is completely different. The national republic ministries of public education must have the right to create their own curricula for the higher, secondary, and special school systems.

Response (**R. A. Aliyev**): We need a pedagogical concept for every republic, in accordance with which many of the problems of public education will be resolved.

**A. A. Guseynov**, department head, republic Palace of the Friendship of the Nations of the USSR, AzSSR Academy of Sciences, doctor of historical sciences: It seems to me that we must not forget the party's historical experience with regard to the national question. In our region, the Transcaucasian Federation existed for 15 years. During those 15 years very rich experience was accumulated in the area of party guidance of relations among republics. And it is necessary to use that experience and its forms, with a consideration of the present-day conditions.

**A. Z. Abdullayev**, assistant professor, Baku Higher Party School, candidate of philosophical sciences: When speaking about the problems of cultural and national autonomy, it is necessary to note that the recognition of this right for an individual nation is vitally important, especially if there are no fundamental theoretical obstacles to this.

From a statement by Professor **P. T. Timofeyev**, head of the scientific department of AON [Academy of Social Sciences], under CPSU Central Committee, doctor of historical sciences: Omissions or even vulgarization when resolving or scientifically interpreting the national question and the questions of our party's national policy occur frequently because of the lack of theoretical knowledge. It would seem to be necessary to conduct research not only on national-cultural autonomy, but also on problems of the equalizing of the economic, political, and social levels with the purpose of developing ways to carry out the Leninist policy under present-day conditions. It must be "strong"—scientifically substantiated—and must guarantee the more complete satisfying of the spiritual needs of each nation.

The questions of the nationality to which an individual belongs and of the freedom of the individual require the improvement of interethnic communication and the increase in the efficiency of communication among nationalities. These problems can be correctly resolved only if one stands firmly on internationalistic positions. On the other hand, the absolutization of the national factor can lead to new complications both in the development of nations and especially in interethnic relations.

From a statement by Professor **A. A. Zargarov**, director of the Center for Scientific Information on the Social Sciences, AzSSR Academy of Sciences, doctor of economic sciences: I would like to make the following analogy: our oil-drillers are well aware that if an oil gusher that comes rushing out of the ground is not capped promptly, it can lead to catastrophic consequences.

Today it is our very important task to put under control this incompletely capped gusher of interethnic passions and emotions, and to direct it down the constructive channel of prudence and mutual understanding.

I am profoundly convinced that this is the only path to the restoration of trust. There is no other road for eliminating the conflict.

As everyone knows, mutual understanding is achieved in the desire of both sides to meet one another halfway, while being guided by the highest interests. At the present time the party organizations both in Azerbaijan and in Armenia have been applying tremendous efforts to correct the situation that has developed. However, there are forces that oppose this. They exist not only in our two republics, but also among foreign ill-wishers. Through their mass information media they are attempting to convince their listeners and readers that the steps being taken do not have any promise of success. In their opinion this is equivalent to the "inevitable rejection of incompatible tissues."

One continues to hear the persistent recommendation that we do not forget the "lessons of the historical past and the present." Unfortunately, there exist among us a

rather large number of people who have disassociated themselves from such statements as though they were persistent flies. The bacilli of nationalism are capable of spreading and infecting society with serious social ailments.

We are obliged not simply to know about the insinuations being made by our foreign foes, but also to study their work methods in the most serious manner, in order to be able to neutralize their effect upon our practical activity.

From a statement by **V. P. Dzyubenko**, doctor of historical sciences, professor at the Department of the History of the CPSU, AON: The socialist nation, its arising and development, can be compared figuratively with the arising of young mountains, where the process that is occurring is one of formation that can produce the most varied fractures. Therefore it is important for scientists to develop a theory concerning the socialist nation and the contradictions in its development. If we do not understand what the socialist nation is, then it will be difficult to continue any farther in developing the correct policy.

In resolving the national question under present-day conditions it is necessary to pay special attention to the problem of party construction. For many years we approached this from positions of building up the party's guiding role. But life has shown us that, because of the one-sided attitude, we overlooked many pre-crisis phenomena, such as the rift that has been noted between the party and the masses, and the inability to reflect their moods and interests. Therefore it seems to me that it is necessary in the party agencies to introduce structural subdivisions that would engage in interethnic relations.

The discussion was continued by **A. G. Aliyev**, senior scientific associate at the Institute of Philosophy and Law, candidate of philosophical sciences: Fundamental restructuring is impossible without making a break with the stereotypes and concepts that have developed and that, in their opposition to the new ones, lead to a conflict situation. It is also necessary to take into consideration such important circumstances as the theoretical development and participation of the party agencies, the mutual understanding between them and the mass, and the careful consideration of the masses of the people.

But the most important thing is not to wait until a conflict arises, but to prevent it from occurring. Therefore it is necessary to create a system of reacting and of registering social tension, which will require a large amount of untraditional research.

**T. L. Faradov**, scientific associate at the Institute of Philosophy and Law, AzSSR Academy of Sciences, candidate of philosophical sciences, dwelt on the sociopsychological and ethnopsychological aspects of the question being discussed: the tremendous role played here by

such phenomena as national feelings, national self-awareness, and national interests and moods. In extreme situations factors that manifest themselves negatively are rumors, antipathies, ethnic stereotypes, and psychological mechanisms of imitation, suggestion, and infection which have played a negative role.

In order to administer effectively the processes of interethnic communication, it is necessary to have a much better knowledge of the mechanism by which the psychological factors operate. At the present time, when the interpersonal relations have been disturbed between the two neighboring nations in our region, we are confronted by the task of creating a special ethnopsychological aid service that could carry out the work of rehabilitating the living ties among people. It would be beneficial for the Moscow scientists and our own to conduct joint research in accordance with a single program.

The results of the roundtable session were summed up by **A. F. Dashdamirov**. Having discussed a number of problems that were touched upon by the discussion participants, he said, in particular: We have had an interesting, albeit rather variegated, discussion of a large number of problems—from questions of history to today's acute events. We have attempted not to reduce the discussion to the well-known events of last year. But at the same time it is necessary to derive lessons from what happened.

The interpretation and overcoming of the conflict situation that was created in our region will undoubtedly constitute a substantial factor in the process of formation of the new national policy of the CPSU at the stage of the restructuring of socialist society. It seems to us that this restructuring must organically unite the resolution of the problems that pertain to the economy as a whole, and to society as a whole, and the questions of state construction and the reinforcement of union principles, with the purely national, ethnic, and legal-policy problems in the life and interrelationships of the peoples of the USSR, and must guarantee the just satisfying of the legal interests and needs of each nationality, irrespective of its size, its location, etc.

The CPSU Central Committee has adopted, as everyone knows, an extended decree concerning the preparation for the Plenum on Problems of Improving Interethnic Relations. Within the framework of the planned program for preparing for this Plenum, the press and the creative organizations and scientific institutions are conducting open discussions, analyzing the problems that have come to a head, and searching for the optimal constructive decisions.

Our legal scientists and philosophers and our sociologists and historians must carry out a considerable amount of work to reveal more completely the political and social content of the fundamental principles of the national and state structure of the USSR, in their unity and interrelationship. It will be necessary to take a creative

approach to the question of which adjustments will be made by our life at the stage of perestroika to the nature and forms of organizing interethnic relations, and what changes and additions must enrich our laws in order for them to correspond more completely both to the needs of the free and harmonious development of every nation, nationality, and ethnic group, and to the interests of the unity of the multinational Soviet state and the friendship of the peoples of the USSR. It is appropriate to state that we have by no means completely assimilated the tremendous amount of historical experience in the communication that the Azerbaijani nation has had with many nations and nationalities of our Motherland. Our republic's historians and ethnosociologists will have to do a lot to enrich the social memory of the present-day generations with the historical and international traditions of good-neighborliness, mutual assistance, and cooperation that were accumulated by the Azerbaijani nation and the republic's workers.

Life convincingly points out that without the profound interpretation of the present-day problems of interethnic relations, without the carrying out of fundamental and applied research in this field, and without broad democratic discussions and open, constructive dialogue at various levels, it will scarcely be possible to develop the correct approaches to the resolution of today's problem, much less tomorrow's, in the sphere of national relations.

What is needed here is energetic, purposeful work to develop everything that is positive, everything that can serve to harmonize those relations, and simultaneously to overcome decisively the negative heritage of the past, to extend an aggressive struggle against everything that divides people and incites nationalistic passions.

This discussion has demonstrated the readiness of its participants to carry out a creative search for the forms, methods, and means of improving the interethnic relations. This discussion must have a fruitful continuation.

**Participants in the work of the roundtable included: R. Ya. Zeynalov, secretary of the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee; and M. T. Mamedov, first secretary of the party's Baku Gorkom.**

#### **Readers Demand More Kirghiz Language Use** *18330403a*

[Editorial Report] Frunze SOVETIK KYRGYZSTAN in Kirghiz on 10 December 1988 carries on page 4 eleven letters from readers (2500 words) which contain comments on improvements which could be made to the media in light of glasnost. Three letters complain about the treatment of the Kirghiz language in the media and in public organizations: one of them urges that classes in peoples universities be conducted in Kirghiz, and

another maintains that 'our language suffers' when it is translated from a Russian original, as is the case for the Kirghiz newspaper of the Ministry of Education and the Pioneer newspaper.

**Military Requests Improved Russian Language Teaching**  
18330403b

18330403b [Editorial Report] Frunze SOVETNIK KYRGYZSTAN in Kirghiz on 15 December 1988 carries on page 2 a 900-word KirTAG report on the Frunze meeting of the Military Council of the Central Asian Military District; the report is headlined "We Must Prepare the Faithful Defenders of Our Country." Reports were delivered by Colonel General A. V. Kovtunov, commander of the Central Asian Military District, and Lieutenant General G. I. Chuchkalov, chief of the military district's political directorate. In the meeting, the question of the Russian language knowledge among the youth as a "means of communicating among nationalities and mastering complex military skills" was stressed "especially." Also present was A. M. Masaliyev, Kirghiz CP CC first secretary, who emphasized the need for "basic improvement" in Russian language study in secondary schools. He pointed out that in this matter "more perestroika is needed—not in words, but in deeds."

**Nationalities Commission Discusses Language Question**  
18330403c

[Editorial Report] Frunze SOVETNIK KYRGYZSTAN in Kirghiz on 17 December 1988 carries on pages 1-2 a 700-word KirTAG report headlined "International Relations Must Be Developed" on a meeting of the Commission on Questions of Nationality and International Relations at which the situation in Osh Oblast was discussed. It was pointed out that "concrete measures have been taken to develop national language-Russian language bilingualism, and that the possibilities for Uzbeks, Tajiks, Kurds and other nationalities for learning their mother tongues have been created." However, in the oblast "the language problem remains serious. The possibilities for non-Kirghiz nationalities to learn Kirghiz have been poorly studied. Better conditions for learning Russian in depth and for teaching Uzbek, Tajik and other languages must be created." It was noted that the primary obstacles to achieving these goals are the lack of qualified teachers and textbooks.

**Newspaper Circulation Growth Reflects Glasnost**  
18330403d

[Editorial Report] Frunze SOVETNIK KYRGYZSTAN in Kirghiz on 25 December 1988 carries on page 2 a 1400-word summary of questions put to SOVETNIK KYRGYZSTAN staff members which reflect a growing public interest in Kirghiz language media; the article is headlined "Interest in Media Work." Noting that the newspaper's circulation increased from 147 thousand to

164 thousand over the last three years and that letters to the editor have increased by five to six thousand a year over the same period, it interprets these figures to mean that the newspaper's readers' "activism" has grown as a consequence of the "glasnost emerging from perestroika." The editors add that "we are paying special attention to the experience and problems of restructuring, to history and destiny, to the language question and to literature." In response to criticism directed at the editors for coining new Kirghiz words or reviving vocabulary used in the Kirghiz epic, they express the hope that a terminology commission will be formed under the KiSSR Academy of Sciences to work out problems concerned with language development. Examples cited include words used to express concepts in economic reform and substitutions used to replace words of Russian origin.

**KGB Chief Highlights Anti-Soviet Activity in KiSSR**  
18330403e

[Editorial Report] Frunze SOVETNIK KYRGYZSTAN in Kirghiz on 30 December 1988 carries on pages 2-3 a 4100-word interview with Vladimir Aleksandrovich Ryabokon, chairman of the KiSSR KGB, headlined "Service to the People is the Chekists' Obligation." Asked about the "hostile actions directed against our republic by anti-Soviet ideologists," he cites four instances: first, following the events in Alma-Ata in 1986, "workers named Irving and Yang from the American embassy in Moscow" were interviewing Kirghiz youth in Frunze and, "appealing to their nationalism," promised support if they emulated the Kazakhs; second, "foreign clerical (religious) centers are viewing Islam as a form of nationalism" and claim that the Kirghiz nation is in danger of extinction because of "russification"; third, KGB agents have found "more than 10 thousand pamphlets and books" containing "enemy ideas" concealed in shipments of industrial equipment coming from abroad; and fourth, "the espionage activity of the American journalist Daniloff in Frunze was proven without a doubt."

**PRAVDA Reports on Tadjik Earthquake Relief Work**

18300442 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Mar 89 p 3

[Article by O. Latifi, PRAVDA correspondent: "Sharora Heals Its Wounds"]

[Text] The terrible blow of the earthquake will not be erased from memory in the Gissarskiy valley in Tajikistan. The terrible ordeal at that fatal hour on January 23 and the scale of disaster, which turned out to be much larger than was thought in the first days—all of this sad and heavy burden lay on the shoulders of the living. It cannot be borne alone. But, as is known, in our country pain or joy is shared by all.

If not for the sympathy and support which are growing with each day, I would not be sitting now in the Sharora kishlak bakery, part of which has been transformed into a fraternal grave, nor would I be eating the hot, local bread. The head baker of the village, M. Bartov, perished with his family. People used to come here from all around, even from Dushanbe, to treat family members and house guests to Muzafar bread. May he rest in peace. And his memory is so dear that his students—younger brother Kholmurod, and Akhlidin and Safar Karakhonov, and the very young Rustam Salimov, who was saved from under the wreckage, lit the fire in the oven anew.

Ibrahim Buriyev, delegate to the 27th Party Congress and member of the Uzbek CP Central Committee broke bread with me in the bakery. How much he has survived. His father, the volunteer Kamal, did not return from the Great Patriotic War. His mother, in order not to die from hunger, went with her son and daughter to an orphanage. Together with hundreds of orphans she raised her own children.

When the subterranean shock destroyed Gazli, I. Buriyev was first secretary of the Zarafshanskiy Party Gorkom. Later his fate drastically changed. For refusing to follow the laws of corruption, which had spread like wildfire, he wound up behind bars. The wind of perestroika got him out of prison.

Among the thousands of Soviet people, Ibrahim Kamalovich also responded to the Gissar tragedy. Now he works as the deputy director of Sredazgasneftstroy [Central Asian Gas and Oil Construction]. During meetings with the leaders of the Tajik SSR Council of Ministers and the Tajik SSR Gosstroy [State Construction Committee], he proposed to organize a subdivision of Sredazgasneftstroy in the Gissar valley and to take part in the gasification of the settlement where those who lost shelter are moving in. Such a helping hand is very necessary to the workers of the local Zemledeliye Scientific-Production Association. Hundreds of its laborers lost not only living quarters but work places: all laboratories were out of service after the blow of nature's force.

"For now there are enough concerns," confided G. Mirzoyev, the manager of the Zemledeliye Scientific-Production Association Mechanization Department.

Gennadiy Davydovich organized a brigade of loaders with his workers. It accepts arriving aid. The families of the association's workers have been housed in temporary dwellings. No one grumbles.

The thoughts and deeds of both the Gissaris themselves and of all who answered to their pain are impelled by hope. A load arrived from Great Britain. A gift of the Armenian community of Cyprus is on the way. Contributions from Japan have been received. Soon scientists

from the land of the rising sun, where seismology and teaching the population earthquake security rules have been declared an affair of state, will arrive here.

Speaking of international support, the role of UNDRO [United Nations Disaster Relief Office] (the specialized division of the UN secretariat for coordination of emergency aid) should be noted with gratitude. Now, under its guidance, the third regular seminar will take place at the Tajik Institute of Earthquake-Resistant Construction.

Scientists and specialists from many countries will gather in Dushanbe to study the experience of the liquidation of the consequences of destructive earthquakes. It is planned to organize an exhibition of foreign equipment according to the seminar topic.

Five new settlements which have been built in the republic will incorporate not only the strict requirements of seismological security, but also the entire complex of contemporary comfort plus rural advantages—the personal plot and irrigation ditches in the courtyards. Such plans have already begun to be implemented. O. Baydaskiy, the director of the Gissarstroy Association PMK-7 [Mobile Mechanized Column-7] has many construction jobs in the republic under his belt. He made his contribution to the liquidation of the consequences of the 1985 Kayrakkum earthquake. The renewal of Sharora was assigned to the collective headed by Oleg Leonidovich. In just a few days, they laid the access roads to the construction site. The walls of the first nine apartment buildings went up. It is a pleasure to watch how the brigades of Viktor Mingret and Fedor Gambukh work. Construction workers from the Surkhandarinskiy Rayon work at the 50th Anniversary of October sovkhov. The settlement, which the envoys of the neighboring republic will give to the Gissaris, will receive the name "Uzbekistan."

The local residents were deeply touched and grateful when the young Armenians Samval Khachatryan, Edmont Martirosyan, Parandzem Mkrtchyan, and Yura Garanyan appeared in the rayon. "Can-do" lads. Trucks were approaching at midnight. The boys immediately got up from their camp-beds and were on their way to the unloading. Now the fellows have returned to Armenia.

I. Khayeyev, chairman of the republic headquarters for the liquidation of the consequences of the natural disaster and chairman of the Tajik SSR Council of Ministers, says:

"One can give hundreds of examples of internationalism and of sincere participation and aid to the Tajik brothers. Many want to help—both here in the republic and beyond its borders. It is even necessary to "regulate" the mutual help. Recently, let us say, it was necessary to decline the suggestion of construction workers from the Leninabadskiy Rayon to erect 20 individual houses in

Sharora. They have plenty of worries at home. After all, the consequences of the Kayrakkumskiy earthquake are still far from being overcome."

"In this year alone, 50 million rubles will be directed to restoration and new construction work," says N. Posdeyev, Gissar Party Raykom secretary.

Much still remains to be done. After all, out of 5,000 families who remain without shelter, only 1,800 have been provided with temporary lodgings. The rest are distributed among relatives and neighbors. Today, task number one is not to drag out the construction. For the people have endured a great deal.

### Support for Tajik as Official Republic Language Noted

18300494 Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA  
in Russian 19 Feb 89 p 2

[Article by Rakhim Khashimov, doctor of philology, member of the Scientific Council "Language and Society", Department of Language and Literature of the USSR Academy of Sciences]

[Text] The Tajik language among other languages of the country's peoples occupies a special place: On the territory of our state, the Tajiks represent the largest national community belonging to the Iranian-language peoples, the principal mass of which lives outside the boundaries of the USSR. The foreign Iranian-language peoples are attentively following the development of the Tajik language, culture, science, and the economy of the republic, since the experience of the Tajikistan in the economic, political, and national-language sphere is applicable by our neighbors, who have embarked on the path of fundamental socio-economic transformations.

When speaking of the role of the Tajik language in the life of our republic, it is impossible to ignore the dialectic and the principle of the historical method, which may lead to the distortion of the truth to please national emotions. Well known is the statement of S. Ayni, who said that, before the revolution, the Tajik language was not studied in the legal schools [maktabakh] and religious schools [medrese]. It became the subject and the means of study by the popular masses only during the years of Soviet power, when the prerequisites were created for expansion of the functional sphere—the Tajik language became the language of the theater, radio, the press, television, and publishing activity. Not to mention this, means to close one's eyes to the truth or to disseminate a one-sided view on the development of the public functions of the Tajik literary language.

At the same time, it can definitely be said that, already during the 1950's-1970's, the potentially possible social functions of the Tajik language in the sphere of medical, polytechnical, and agricultural education, and clerical work in the provinces and at the center, ceased to be realized, i.e., stagnation also affected these spheres of the

activity of the Tajik people. Although it was precisely during this time that the institute of art, the institute of physical culture, and the branch of the pedagogical institute in Kurgan-Tyube were opened and the pedagogical institute in Kulyab resumed its work. The creative work of Maliki Sabirova, Makhmud Vokhidov, B. G. Gafurov, and other representatives of the Tajik people received world recognition. Thus, it is impossible to assess the intellectual and spiritual life of the republic identically. Extensive development predominated not only in the economy, but also in culture.

A great many true and alarming words have been spoken about the level of our native language. The not very expressive language of our national intelligentsia is especially intolerable. The lack ability to use in speech the full wealth of the national language among many figures in the ministries and departments speaks not about the guilt, but about their misfortune. Let us recall how this happened. In the 1940's, only the graduates of schools with the Russian language of instruction had the possibility of receiving a higher education in practically all specialties, since teaching was not carried out in the native language in many VUZes. Now they have grown up, and the language of instruction has become also the means of their professional and public activity, since in its time the national terminology and functional styles of language, without which a genuine culture of native language is impossible, were not sufficiently developed.

Let us turn our eyes on the rural schools, staffed to the extent of 95 percent with local cadres. In the kishlaks the spoken Russian environment is lacking, but the level of the native language, both of the graduates and of the teachers themselves, who received an education in the VUZes in their native language, is far from the norms of the literary language. All of this finds reflection in the works of the graduates of the rural schools and is one of the reasons of the great drop-out of secondary school graduates in the enrollment into VUZ's. Thus, the functional and intra-structural development of the Tajik literary language is directly connected with its further democratization.

During our time, the term "language of the indigenous nationality of the republic" has become widespread, by which is understood only the language of the nationality which gave the republic its name. If by indigenous population is understood Tajiks in Tajikistan, Uzbeks in Uzbekistan, etc., then what is the status of the inhabitants who for centuries have lived in this territory, but do not belong to this national community? During the years of Soviet power, already the third and fourth generations of Russians, Ukrainians, Tatars, and other representatives of the peoples of the USSR were born. What grounds are there for depriving them of their homeland in a legal sense, for not considering them as indigenous inhabitants?

In practically not a single article published in the Tajik language in the periodical press is the question raised about the expansion of the public functions of the Uzbek



language, which serves one-fourth of the population of the republic. In Tajikistan, the Uzbeks do not have the possibility of receiving a university education in their native language, not single republic youth or children's newspaper is published in Uzbek, there is no Uzbek language theater in the capital, there is a lack of television programs, and only half an hour a week is devoted to radio broadcasts in the Uzbek language. Why must the Uzbeks find themselves remote from the knowledge of the economic, cultural and scientific problems of the republic, in whose solution they are obliged to be involved? We have ceased to send Turkmen and Kazakhs to study in their native language, only 12 Kirghiz a year have the possibility of studying in accordance with the inter-republic cooperation plan, and then only in four specialties.

In Dushanbe live 24,000 Tatars and 18,000 Ukrainians (according to the data of the 1979 census). Have, if not schools, then at least classes in their native language been created for the instruction of their children? Is it not alarming that 18.2 percent of the Tatars and 45.7 percent of the Ukrainians in Tajikistan have no command of their native language at all? If we are to be internationalists in deed, then we must be concerned not only about our own people, but also about those who live and work side by side with us. In one of the articles, the role of the Russian language is compared with the rule of the French language in the life of the Russian aristocracy and the Russian gentry, who supposedly despised their people and for this reason used French, in order to separate themselves from the simple people. In our time, in the opinion of the author, the Russian language plays an analogous role among the Tajik intelligentsia. As if the knowledge of the French language prevented Pushkin, Lermontov, Tolstoi, Lenin and other Russian nobles from serving their people, and A. Donish, S. Ayni, Mirzo Tursun-zade, and B. G. Gafurov did not become the first sons of their people although they knew the Russian language.

Language is the expression of the national consciousness of a people. Who nevertheless continues the policy of "passport" assimilation of the Pamir peoples? Who should be concerned with the development of the public functions of the Pamir languages in the spirit of Leninist, (and not Stalinist) nationality policy? To be oblivious to the awakening of a national sense of justice would be at least short-sighted and unscientific.

In a republic like Tajikistan, which is the home of many peoples, it is impossible to understand by language of the indigenous nationality only one language, and, it is necessary to show concern for the expansion of the public functions, within reasonable, objective and necessary limits, of the languages of the other nationalities populating the republic as well.

Questions of the legal regulation of the status of national languages also arose earlier. Indeed, the law on the status of languages is necessary as the guarantor of the preservation and development of every national language, but at

its basis must be the dialectical unity of the national and international. Such a law must take into account both the interests of the large nation, which gave the republic its name, and the interests of the small peoples and national communities.

V. I. Lenin persistently fought for democratic principles of the solution of national-language problems, and in so doing he resolutely came out against any kind of privileges for one of the languages or nations. It would seem, the position of V. I. Lenin is absolutely clear to all and does not need any commentary. However, in the periodical press of the republic, many authors advance the Tajik language as the only possible state language in all spheres of life of the republic's multinational population. In his famous article "Do We Need a Compulsory State Language?", V. I. Lenin comes out against any imposition and constraint in the form of a compulsory law on language. At the same time, does this mean that he was against a state language as such? No, V. I. Lenin came out against **one** state language for the entire multinational state. As an example of the democratic application of a state language, he names Switzerland, where three state languages—German, French, and Italian—officially operate.

In almost all his works on the nationality question, V. I. Lenin warns against the danger of "a police regime", "the stick," and a special law destroying the principle of the freedom and equality of languages.

It was precisely in the spirit of the Leninist nationality policy that a decree on the recognition of Tajik, Uzbek and Russian as state languages was adopted by the Revolutionary Committee of the TaASSR on 18 December 1925.

In the epoch of the new political thinking, in the creation of a law on languages, it is necessary to take into account not only the Leninist idea, but also Article 2 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted on 10 December 1948, by the United Nations General Assembly, which reads: "Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms. . . without any distinction of any kind, such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin. . . ."

The tendency of the imposition of one language on another leads to the deformation not only of national relations, but also to large social, political and ideological losses. It is impossible to rush from one extreme to the other, since any extreme, especially in national-language relations, is not the truth.

The publications contain appeals to follow the example of the Baltic republics. But is everything smooth in these republics? We must take into account the mistakes, omissions, and defects that have been permitted in the solution of the national-language problems. A fact of the public life of the Baltic republics is the existence of a National Front and the Inter-Movement, created on the

national-language basis, since in the question of the state language they adhere to diametrically opposed views. And when the session of the Supreme Soviet of Estonia adopted the Law on Language, the Russian-speaking deputies refused to vote and, as a sign of protest, left the hall of the session. Are such extremes necessary? Let us also recall the fact that the National Front Abkhazii came out against the Georgian state language.

Unfortunately, we have hot heads, who in publications make use of some extremist slogans of Baltic authors, which, however, have not received broad support. And although in their majority the ideas set forth in the pages of the newspapers promote the further development of socialist democracy and the consolidation of the foundations of the multinational state, one also encounters opinions which directly contradict Article 38 of the USSR Constitution.

In the solution of national-language problems extreme weighing and progressive movement are necessary in order for things in this sphere to be better today than tomorrow, and better tomorrow than today. It is necessary to take the kinds of decisions that would improve national-language relations, but not worsen them; you see, in perestroika the human factor is important not in and of itself, as an abstract phenomenon, but as having an extremely personal and national trait, as the dialectical unity of the national and international.

By way of suggestions for the commission of the Presidium of the TaSSR Supreme Soviet, I would like to express the following considerations in regard to the content of the future law on language.

1. With a view to increasing the role and prestige of the Tajik language in the life of the republic, to give it the status of means of inter-national intercourse of the peoples of the republic.
2. With a view to the development of the public functions of the native language, taking into account the relative weight of the nations in the republic, on the level of republic organs, congresses, sessions, conferences, etc., the mass media, and republic clerical work in the state organs, to recognize as functionally equal the official **working** languages—Tajik, Uzbek, and Russian (by analogy with such an international organization as the United Nations, where seven working languages are recognized), and in the rayons and kishlaks of compact residence of Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Tatars, Germans, Turkmen, Shugnantsy, Rushantsy, Pamir peoples and others, to recognize the nativelanguages of the relevant national community as working languages as well.
3. The Tajik SSR guarantees equal rights to all in obtaining a general secondary and higher education in the native language in the republic itself or on the basis of inter-republic cooperation in conformity with the relative share of the national communities.

4. The organizers of party, state, socio-political and other measures obligate themselves to secure the technical means for their simultaneous translation into the relevant official working languages.

5. The central and local organs are obliged to accept statements and other personal appeals of citizens in any language, and to answer them in one of the accepted working languages of the republic or local organs.

**Tajik Commission Proposals on Language Issue**  
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[Report on TaSSR Supreme Soviet Commission session: "Equal Among Equals: Report from a Session of the Commission for the Preparation of Proposals on the Status of the State Language in the Tajik SSR and on the Procedure for the Use of Languages in the TaSSR"]

[Text] For more than a month the Commission for the Preparation of Proposals on the Status of the State Language in the Tajik SSR and on the Procedure for the Use of Languages in the Tajik SSR, created by the Presidium of the republic Supreme Soviet, has been at work. The membership of the Commission includes leading scientists, linguists, historians, philosophers, representatives of the creative unions, party and soviet organs, and workers of a number of sectors of the national economy.

As has already been reported, on February 20 a regular session of the Commission took place, which was conducted by its chairman, G. P. Pallayev, the chairman of the Presidium of the TaSSR Supreme Soviet.

Part of the activity of the study groups of the Commission was reviewed.

After publication in the republic press of the report on the formation of the Commission in the Presidium of the TaSSR Supreme Soviet, letters and telephone calls began to pour in from all corners of Tajikistan, said the man in charge of the third study, Sh. D. Makhmudov, the republic minister of justice.

Proposals were received from the Writers Union, television, theater, and museum workers, the Znaniye Society, scientific-research institutes, institutions of higher and secondary specialized education, teachers and students of secondary schools and vocational-technical schools, the editorial boards of republic and local newspapers, workers and engineering-technical personnel of industrial enterprises and construction organizations, kolkhoz farmers, workers of the law enforcement organs, collectives of street and kishlak residents, individual citizens and families.

The authors of many letters clearly conceive that the question about the state language is not only and not so much a question of the language in which laws, decrees,

and business papers are to be written, right up to the labels on candy, but is, above all, a question of how to go on living. In short, how to preserve and develop the benevolent relations among the people of different nationalities in our republic, the friendship and cooperation. You see, life and practice have already taken shape in such a way that in many spheres of state and public activity, especially among the urban population, Tajik-Russian bilingualism or Russian unilingualism predominate. And in spite of the fact that no one ever prohibited the use of the Tajik language in work, many citizens, and above all officials of state and public enterprises, institutions and organizations, use only the Russian language in clerical work.

The inspector of the republic State Committee for the Protection of Nature, P. F. Eshov, for example, categorically objects to the transfer of clerical work in the Tajik language. In his view, this may lead to difficulty in the sphere of government. But another group of declarants (N. I. Kravtsova, T. A. Nazarova, etc.) fears that the adoption of such a law can entail the outflow of the Russian-speaking population from the republic.

Some declarants write about the fact that, if the Tajik language is not given the status of state language, it will perish (the collective of teachers of School No 8 Fayzabadskiy Rayon—24 signatures, the workers of the Medical School No 1 of the city of Dushanbe—20 signatures, and the inhabitants of Kalai-Khumbskiy Rayon—61 signatures and a number of others).

It is also noted that the teaching of the Russian language in the national schools is not conducted in the best manner, especially in the village. Very rarely can one meet a graduate of a rural school who knows how to write and speak Russian correctly. Consequently, these young people have a limited choice of obtaining an education outside the boundaries of their republic, and it is frequently very difficult for them to begin service in the army.

Many devoted their statements and proposals to these problems. For example, the collective of teachers and students (600 signatures) of the Dushanbe State Pedagogical Institute imeni T. G. Shevchenko asks to change the method of teaching the Tajik language in Russian schools and the Russian language in Tajik schools so that the graduates of these educational institutions would be able to conduct a practical dialogue in the Tajik and Russian languages.

The scientific associates of the republic institute for the improvement of teachers (21 signatures) also call attention to this, asking, moreover, to introduce the study of the Arab alphabet in general education schools and to envisage expenditures for the development of the Tajik language in the plans of social and economic development.

In a number of letters and telephone calls, proposals are expressed about preserving the languages of Shughnan, Yazgulem, and Rushan, and to publish separate journals in them. Such a request was made, in particular, by the editor of the Tajik Soviet Encyclopedia, R. Shokhbayev. In their letters, the citizens Shamatov and Ibragimov raised the question about considering the Uzbek language also as a state language since Uzbeks live in the territory of Tajikistan (they constitute more than 20 percent of the republic population).

Some members of the preparatory group declared that the Tajik language has gradually begun to lose its positions, the range of its social functions has increasingly begun to narrow. Now everywhere in the party and state organs, in enterprises, in scientific institutions, in technical documentation and clerical work, etc., the Tajik language is not used. When the functioning of the language is increasingly more restricted only to the home and school, the members of the preparatory group emphasize, when the language falls to the level of a household language, it is impossible to expect its gradual perfection, enrichment, and the steady increase of its level. For this reason, they noted further, in the present-day conditions it is necessary to begin with imparting to the Tajik language, within the boundaries of the Tajik SSR, the status of state language, in accordance with which it should be proposed to the commission that, in its turn, it propose to the Supreme Soviet to adopt the Law on Languages.

The goal of the first group is a thorough analysis of the proposals on the state language of the Tajik SSR and the preparation of proposals in regard to this question, said Sh. Rustamov, corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences and member of the commission in his statement. In the case of the approval of the necessity of adopting a state language of the Tajik SSR, the study group will have to introduce its proposals concerning the positive and negative aspects of such a step.

The scholar emphasized that the letters received in many different ways, with the help of facts and at times on a high emotional note, express concern and alarm over the fate of the Tajik language, which is indicative of the spiritual growth and consciousness of the carriers of the language. The letters, which number from one to 10-15 pages of typewritten text, contain a detailed analysis of today's state of the use of the Tajik language in families and in the streets, in children's and educational institutions, in the mass media, announcements and advertising, slogans and posters, theater and cinema, educational literature and fiction, etc.

The authors write that, without granting the Tajik language the status of state language, it is impossible to correct this situation. A part of the authors correctly acknowledges that to correct the situation is very difficult, but possible. In a letter, signed by 734 toilers of the the Kolkhoz imeni K. Marks of Kommunisticheskii Rayon, it is stated: "Today the turn to the past, to

history, and to language is a demand of the time. The Tajik language, which for centuries played an important role in the formation of human civilization, today has fallen into decay. But meanwhile language is the life blood of a people. It cannot be allowed to wither."

The collective of teachers of the Tajik Agricultural Institute and the Philological Faculty of the Leninabad Pedagogical Institute imeni S. Kirov, the teachers and students of the Faculty of Tajik Philology of the State University of Tajikistan imeni V. I. Lenin, the collective of editors of the Pendzhikent city newspaper ZARAFSHON, the Vakhobov family from Dushanbe, and the authors of many other letters demonstrate the necessity of granting to the Tajik language the status of state language.

The letters also contain many other proposals that should be taken into account in the development of the draft Law on Language, in the transition to a state language, and in the new approach to the study of the Tajik, Russian and other languages.

The first study group of the Commission came to the conclusion that the emotions of people and their concern about the fate of the Tajik language are not groundless; it is therefore expedient to remove the anxiety of people and satisfy their demands.

The study group introduced the following proposals:

—to recognize the Tajik language as the state language on the territory of the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic;

—to introduce the corresponding changes in the Constitution (Basic Law) of the Tajik SSR;

—in connection with the fact that the republic has a multinational composition and that, besides the Tajiks, Russians, Uzbeks, Kirghiz, Turkmen, and others—a total of more than 80 nationalities—live on its territory, a TaSSR Law on Language should be adopted, with indication of the role and status of the state language, the place of the Russian language as a means of international dialogue, as well as the spheres of the use of other languages;

—to charge the study group of the Commission with the preparation of a draft of the Law on Language.

A. L. Khromov, professor, doctor of philology, and chief scientific associate of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the TaSSR Academy of Sciences, spoke on behalf of the second study group, which studied the possibility and practice of the functioning of the Russian language as the language of inter-national dialogue, as well as of the languages of other peoples living in the territory of the Tajik SSR. He underscored the necessity, in solving the

question of raising this or that language to the status of state language, of being guided, above all, by the tenets contained in the works of V. I. Lenin on the nationality question.

V. I. Lenin proclaimed the complete freedom and equality of all national languages and the necessity of creating the conditions for their development, the right of every citizen of the state to use his native language. "A democratic state," V. I. Lenin wrote, "without question, must recognize the complete freedom of native languages and deny any privileges of one of the languages."

As a, for his time, positive example of the solution of the nationality question in the sphere of language, he cited Switzerland, where three state languages enjoy equal rights: German, French, and Italian, and some legal documents are published also in two Romansch dialects, which are spoken by only slightly more than 1 percent of the population. In the opinion of V. I. Lenin, Switzerland does not lose from, but, on the contrary, gains from this. Incidentally, from 1938 Romansch became the fourth state language in Switzerland.

Other countries and regions, where two or more more state languages get along on equal rights, can be cited as examples. In Canada—English and French, in Finland—Finnish and Swedish, in India—Hindi and English, in Afghanistan—Dari and Pashtu, in our country in Abkhazia—Abkhaz, Georgian and Russian. In their time, Belorussian, Ukrainian, and Yiddish (Hebrew) were state languages in Belorussia.

The main thing, V. I. Lenin thought, was that there should not be any element of compulsion.

The 19th All-Union Conference of the CPSU, in the resolution "On Inter-Nationality Relations," confirmed that "the most important principle of our multinational state is the free development and equality of the use, by all citizens, of their native languages." Only by observing this principle, only by taking it as the point of departure, can one find the correct solution of any problem in inter-nationality relations, including proposals for granting the status of state language to the Tajik language.

This principle must be indicated in the preamble to the TaSSR Law on Languages, we emphasize—not on Language, but on Languages. Every article of the Law must be collated with this principle. Any proposal, which violates it openly or secretly, directly or indirectly, should be discarded as inflicting damage to the formation of equal relations among nations. Not a single privilege for a single nation, nor for a single language—this thought of Lenin must become the criterion for the verification of the decisions being taken.

Three points of view were expressed by the members of the study group.

The first one of them reduces itself to the fact that it is expedient to give the status of state language to two languages—the Tajik and Russian languages. The adherents of this point of view base themselves on the above-cited statements of V. I. Lenin on the question of state languages and on the practice of the functioning of Tajik-Russian bilingualism that has taken shape in Tajikistan. Bilingualism most fully answers the interests of all the peoples inhabiting the republic. The history and experience of the republic indicate the enormous progressive role of bilingualism in political, state, economic and socio-cultural construction.

It is impossible not to note the fact that in Tajikistan defects and flaws in the solution of the language question were permitted, as a result of which there appeared a narrowing of the sphere of the functioning of the language and the inadequate study and knowledge of it by the Russian-speaking population of the republic. However, for all this, the problem can be solved more easily and less painfully within the framework of the consistent and clear implementation of the principle of bilingualism. The decrees of the Tajik CP Central Committee and the government of the republic on the improvement of the teaching of the Tajik and Russian languages, adopted last year, are aimed at this. If a Law on Two State Languages is adopted, a state program for the development and improvement of the Tajik language will also be developed. In this manner, the program of Tajik-Russian bilingualism will be constitutionally consolidated and a more expedient language policy will be constructed.

Another part of the members of the second group advocated that the status of state language be given only to the Tajik language alone, and that the Russian language, parallel to the Tajik language, function in the multinational environment of the republic and beyond its boundaries as the language of inter-nationality dialogue.

And, finally, the third point of view, expressed in our study group. Taking into account the fact that basically three language groups of the population exist in the republic: The Tajik-speaking, Turkic-speaking (Uzbeks, Tatars, Kirghiz, Turkmen), and the Russian-language population, it is seen as most expedient to give the status of state languages to the Tajik, Uzbek, and Russian languages. The granting of the status to one or two languages, naturally, will call forth the bewilderment and dissatisfaction of one of the language groups of the population. The question of the status of languages must be resolved not only from the positions of linguistics and ethnography, but, above all, from the political positions.

After the reports on the results of the preliminary work of the three study groups began statements of the members of commission in regard to the preparation of proposals on the status of state language in the Tajik SSR and on the procedure for the use of languages in the Tajik SSR. The basic aspects of the problem being examined in detail.

The director of the Institute of Oriental Studies and corresponding member of the TaSSR Academy of Sciences, A. Tursunov, underscored the fact that, in discussing the state language, V. I. Lenin made the reservation of the necessity of excluding the element of force and the imposition of any language on any people from above. Besides the legal aspect, he had in mind also the ethical aspect of the problem. It is necessary to create a code for the use of the other languages, without making the Tajik language into a means of political pressure. We need to investigate why the very question of the legal defense of the Tajik and other languages arose and what the recognition of their state status is. It is necessary not only to proclaim equality of possibilities and exclude the basis for the inequality in the use of various languages. Having emphasized this idea, A. Tursunov at the same time gave an answer also to the questions apropos of this raised by the secretary of the board of the Union of Writers of Tajikistan, B. N. Pshenichnyy.

This proposition was developed by G. A. Ashurov, Academician-secretary of the Department of Social Science, corresponding member of the TaSSR Academy of Sciences, in his statement. A general glance at the history of the question of during the 70 years of Soviet power, he said, indicates that the state of the national languages deteriorated from decade to decade. And what we called the flowering and drawing together of nations did not find sufficient embodiment in real life. We wrote about the triumph of the Leninist nationality policy, but in actual fact introduced its Stalinist deformation in all directions.

Language is a category which is also connected with the concept of national and international, and with the principles of the Soviet federation. We at first misinterpreted the question in its essence, and now we want to aggravate it with hurried measures. Lenin was against a state language, but we have realized his worst fears. And now, after 70 years, we are trying to correct the situation.

M. Mabatshoyev, the editor of the republic newspaper *TODZHIKISTONI SOVETI*, spoke about the further development of the Tajik language in Gorno-Badakhshanskaya Autonomous Oblast.

Since the beginning of time, the mountain-dwellers of Pamir have spoken and written in the literary Tajik language. This is indicated by the historical monuments that have come down to us. And it would be incorrect to depict the population of Pamir as suffering in respect to language. Such a problem does not exist, said the speaker.

R. Gafarov and A. Sayfullayev, doctors of philology, focused the attention of those assembled on the questions of the further development and interaction of the two languages. At the present time, there basically exists Tajik-Russian bilingualism, which is not reinforced in sufficient degree by Russian-Tajik bilingualism. They

spoke in favor of the spheres of the social functioning of the state and other languages, as well as legislative foundations and strict legal guarantees of their actions.

The deformations in development had a harmful effect on the Tajik literary language. The Tajik poets Loik Sherali and G. Safiyeva emphasized that the cult of the word was always a characteristic feature of the Tajiks. Now the oral and written language among many is distinguished by primitivism, obstruction with alien words, and illiteracy. They have handed over, to the TaSSR Supreme Soviet, letters with proposals of the workers, addressed to the journal SADOI SHARK and the Tajik Department of the Soviet Cultural Fund.

"I think there are no doubts whether to declare the Tajik language the state language," said V. I. Pipisnov, the rector of the Tajik Pedagogical Institute of Russian Language and Literature imeni A. S. Pushkin. There is one answer: Declare. But will all the difficulties be overcome by this act? Sufficiently weighty arguments against the declaration of also the Russian and Uzbek languages as state languages have not been heard. The declaration of such a status for only one language signifies the legislative fortification of its advantages over the others. The Tajik SSR is a state, and every state is called upon to express the interests of all nations living in its territory. All of them are equal, and in the development of the Law on Language it is necessary to proceed from this principle.

Many, including pedagogues, are responsible for the fact that the Tajik language has become excessively simplified and obstructed with other words. L. V. Uspenskaya, professor of the Department of Russian Language and General Linguistics of the Dushanbe State Pedagogical Institute imeni T. G. Shevchenko emphasized that it is precisely the workers in public education who have taken the easy road, alternating, for "clarity", in their speech Tajik, Russian and Uzbek words. From whether we call the Russian language a state language or not, its role is not depreciated, it one way or another remains at the height of the situation. The excessive politicization of the question is really not needed.

No indeterminate measure of any kind will bring success, M. Shukurov, Academician of the TaSSR Academy of Sciences thinks. Radical changes are needed in regard to language, which do not prevent comprehensive discussion. The element of voluntariness must fully prevail in the study of a language. It is necessary to fundamentally change the program and methodology of teaching the Tajik language in Russian schools and the Russian language—in Tajik schools. I cannot imagine the future of my people without the Russian people. The Russian culture and language lead the Tajiks to the expanse of the entire world. And when representatives of the non-indigenous population have an excellent command of Tajik, this only increases our respect for them. Similar ideas of mutual enrichment and the cultivation of the

study and use of languages were contained in the statements of the editor of the newspaper KHAKIKATI LENINOBOD, G. Rustamov, and A. Maniyev, the director of the Institute of Language and Literature imeni Rudaki of the TaSSR Academy of Sciences.

G. S. Mikhaylin, procurator of the TaSSR, focused his statement on the necessity of the legal protection of the bearers of a non-state language living in the territory of the republic. The Law on Language must envisage a mechanism of inter-nationality dialogue and freedom of choice of the language for this purpose.

The discussion that took place was summed up by G. P. Pallayev, chairman of the Presidium of the TaSSR Supreme Soviet. He said:

"As you have just heard, a number of proposals have been received with respect to the question being examined:

1. To recognize the Tajik language as a state language;
2. To recognize the Tajik and Russian languages as state languages;
3. To recognize the Tajik, Russian and Uzbek languages as state languages."

The majority of the members of the Commission spoke in favor of the first variant.

The chief conclusion consists in the fact that the necessity for the recognition of the Tajik language as the state language of the republic has really become urgent.

This is natural. You see, the language of any nation exists and develops together with the development of the nation itself. On the other hand, the narrowing of the sphere of the use of a language and insufficient concern for its development, without a doubt, have an effect on the well-being of the nation.

For this reason, if we want to attain progress in our economy, science, and culture, we must be concerned about the further development of the Tajik language and the expansion of the sphere of its use.

In the opinion of the commission, at the present time the level of the Tajik language is as low as never before. At present, the use of the native language is limited by the walls of the home and the street; the language is sinking to the level of a household language.

For this reason, state measures are needed in order to put a stop to these undesirable processes.

In recognizing the Tajik language as the state language, the members of the Commission, above all, proceed from raising the level of the language culture of the indigenous population.

At the same time, it is impossible not to take into consideration that our republic is a multinational state, in which representatives of many nationalities live and work.

To secure the use of the Tajik language in the dialogue between them is not a simple task. For its practical solution, time and a broad complex of economic, organizational, ideological, legal and other measures are needed.

In this lies the special importance of the question being discussed.

And another essential aspect. It is impossible to permit the infringement of the languages of other nations and nationalities, the limitation of their rights in the use of their native language. The document which we will prepare in accordance with the TaSSR Constitution, must secure the strict observance of the principle of the equality of all nations and peoples, including in the sphere of language intercourse. The Commission thinks that it is called upon to secure the equality of all languages and the right to choose the study of a language and to obtain an education in any language.

With regard to the real situation that has developed in the republic, our legal document must be based on the principles of bilingualism.

In this connection, the Commission especially underscores the important role of the Russian language, the language of international dialogue in the life of our entire socialist state. The significance of the Russian language in the development of the culture and science of Tajikistan and the formation of the republic as an equal member in the USSR is indisputable. At present, the Russian language functions in all spheres of the life of our republic.

All of these qualities and distinctive features of the Russian language are conditioned objectively. Consequently, they must find their reinforcement in our normative act on language. That is, along with the recognition of the Tajik language as the state language of the republic, the status of the Russian language ought to be precisely determined. It is the basic means of international dialogue.

The Commission also faces the following difficult task: To determine the spheres of operation of the state language, the Russian, Uzbek, Kirghiz, Turkmen, and other languages, and to secure their legal guarantees.

In the view of the Commission, the recognition of the Tajik language as the state language must not have a negative effect on the development of the traditional bilingualism and multilingualism of the Tajik people.

The more broadly the Tajik language will encompass the various spheres of life and the better the people will know their native language, the higher will be our culture.

The Commission charged the study group with the preparation of the draft TaSSR Law on Languages with its subsequent publication for general discussion.

### **UzSSR: Nishanov on Relationship of Foodstuffs, Cotton Production to Ecology**

*[Interview with Rafik Nishanovich Nishanov, first secretary of the Uzbek CP Central Committee by Correspondents V. Artemenko and A. Kaipbergenov, Tashkent: "Both Cotton and Foodstuffs"]*

[Text] Difficulties in food supplies, and the ecological crisis in the Aral region often affect cotton. Is this true?

R. Nishanov, first secretary of the Uzbek CP Central Committee, answers PRAVDA correspondents' questions.

[Correspondent] Rafik Nishanovich, you touched on this subject at the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. What is your attitude toward the Plenum decisions?

[Nishanov] Perestroika is not to be stopped. The plenum's main conclusion is that the land needs a real and not a declared master. A real person interested in high end results.

[Correspondent] As we know, last year Uzbekistan for the first time in the last 5 years fulfilled and even overfulfilled its quota for raw cotton procurement. What does this mean—a beginning improvement in the health of the leading branch of the republic or a favorable coming together of weather conditions?

[Nishanov] It is not only the weather. It is greater organization and discipline. We have moved to contract forms of labor, are introducing intensive technologies and are regulating the harvesting conveyor. This has enabled us to grow a good harvest, to procure over 5.36 million tons of raw materials of first and second class primarily. As calculations show, it is possible to produce no fewer than 1.72 million tons of fiber, whereas previously, during the very heat of the fake record-setting mania, no more than 1.6 million tons were produced.

The production of grain, potatoes, vegetables, melons, fruit, meat, milk and eggs has also increased. In general growth in gross agricultural production is equivalent to a total of about 800 million rubles.

Of course that which has been achieved is only the beginning of the turn toward improvement.

[Correspondent] In the republic there is no end to discussions about the domination of cotton, which has pushed out many orchards, vineyards and gardens. So

much water is needed for it that the disappearing Aral Sea is being pushed to the brink. Prices in markets are increasing, living conditions are deteriorating. Cotton or food? This is the essence of many disputes.

[Nishanov] The question is a difficult one. I feel that we must consider the existing structures of the national economy and the place of the republic in the national division of labor. Where, in addition to Central Asia and Azerbaijan, can we produce cotton? It is another matter that in the chase after gross yield and inflated fame sowing area expanded in an unrestrained manner and the vital interests of people have been ignored. Soil fertility has decreased; the ecological situation has become more complex. This was the result of enterprises' involvement in escapades and of flagrant administrative pressure. The monoculture, like an octopus, has enveloped agriculture. I spoke about this from the podium of the central committee plenum. At the same time other branches were being kept down.

[Correspondent] It was noted at the plenum that during the last 20 years 1.6 million hectares of irrigated land have been introduced in Uzbekistan, fixed production capital in agriculture increased sixfold and gross production—by 75 percent...

[Nishanov] That is true. Right now we are still not managing the enterprises in the best manner. We are trying to correct deformations and to restructure the practice of land and water use.

[Correspondent] It is a complex matter.

[Nishanov] The problems have been accumulating for years. First and foremost we must increase the return in food branches at an accelerated rate. With a rapid population growth the production levels achieved are extremely inadequate. Per capita consumption of food products is essentially not growing in the republic. And in meat and dairy production we occupy last place in the country.

[Correspondent] Many letters are received from specialists who state that for the republic the production of 4 million tons of raw materials would be optimal. If we moved to complete self-support with produce, then there would be practically no land left for cotton.

[Nishanov] Many people forget that there are no miracles in nature or in the economy. Some propose to radically curtail the area in cotton, to instantly reorient farming toward raising food, and primarily fruit and vegetable products. I feel that this kind of maneuver is simply unrealistic within a short period of time. It is also probably hardly justified economically. To the problem of how to feed the people is added another—what to clothe them in. Also, in addition to fiber, the raw cotton will provide 500,000 tons of vegetable oil, over 1 million tons of oilseed meal and a large quantity of other protein feeds for livestock raising.

The key to solving the problem is not the mass and hurried reorganization of crop structure, although serious changes are essential here, but correct reclamation, the quality improvement of the land and the skilful use of every irrigated hectare. The return on agricultural labor is still extremely low and product losses are high.

[Correspondent] Still it is indisputable that the efficient coordination of crops is important.

[Nishanov] Work is being done in this direction. Whereas during the boom period the proportion of cotton in total area of irrigated plowland reached 75 percent and more in some places, last year it decreased to 69 percent. We are developing a scientific concept for developing farming. We cannot do without the continued freeing of area from cotton. First of all it should be removed from low-productivity and very salinated soils as well as from steep slopes and foothills, where it does not do well.

[Correspondent] In comparison to 1983 the procurement plan for raw cotton has been decreased for Uzbekistan by 750,000 tons. Is it necessary to curtail procurement volume further?

[Nishanov] The problem has not been conclusively solved. That part has been removed from the plan that was never really produced, that simply said was added. A real decrease is needed. According to calculations we should decrease the sowing area by 200,000 hectares and decrease the production volume of raw materials by another 300,000-350,000 tons in order to bring annual gross yield to 5 million tons. On this question we find understanding and support in the party central committee and the country's government. A positive solution will create the conditions for a quality improvement in the level of cotton farming and an improvement in crop rotations and the reclamation condition of the soil.

[Correspondent] Evidently, the crisis situation in the Aral region was the result of the irresponsible approach to the assimilation of new areas for irrigation. No one thought about negative consequences.

[Nishanov] The well-known resolution of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers indicates an extensive program of work to improve matters in the Aral region. A special deputy group on the Aral Sea has been established here. It is in charge of controlling the building of a collection-drainage system and of the complex renovation of old arable soil. Water-conservation measures are being implemented. Whereas in 1987 10 cubic kilometers entered the sea, last year the figure was 23 cubic kilometers. However, this is much less than the amount that evaporates from the surface of the Aral Sea. Thus the urgency remains.

[Correspondent] An objective analysis of the state of affairs has destroyed the myth about the exclusive profitability of cotton farming. A number of enterprises are



unprofitable. In more than one third profitability does not exceed 15 percent, and 72 enterprises turned out to be completely bankrupt. What is the answer?

[Nishanov] There was no myth. Cotton farming is a profitable branch. Even in unfavorable 1987 its profitability surpassed 30 percent. This indicator is even higher according to last year's results. As for the unprofitable, these are basically not involved in cotton farming but in grain farming—livestock raising and orchards-vineyards. Right now the financial improvement of the entire economy is in progress. Some bankrupt sovkhozes are being transferred to industrial enterprises or joined to economically-strong enterprises.

We are placing the most emphasis on cost-accounting forms of labor organization—contracts and rents, and are cooperating in every way possible in the development of production cooperatives. Leasing enables us to eliminate the alienation of the peasant from the land, to make him the manager. In this, incidentally, the experience of the cost accounting collective of L. Kim of Sovkhoz imeni 26 Partsyezd, Kashka-Darya Oblast, is convincing. During the time of our recent visit Lev Nikolayevich confidently announced that the reason for the success is independence and contracts on a lease basis. In the brigade there is no excessive technology or office workers. Last year the cotton yield surpassed 27 quintals. This is on virgin soil. All the raw cotton is harvested by machine. Moreover, the brigade cultivates alfalfa, vegetables and potatoes. Every worker produced a gross yield valued at 21,000 rubles and the average monthly wage was 667 rubles. I became acquainted with the interesting experience of producing a large cotton yield, food crops and alfalfa in the brigade of F. Ibragimov of Pobeda Kolkhoz, Andizhan Oblast.

Whereas last year leases were given for 80,000 hectares, this year the figure is already 900,000 hectares. Five hundred cooperatives are operating to produce agricultural products.

[Correspondent] But leases still face a heap of problems...

[Nishanov] The first among them has to do with cotton prices. The problem became more acute during preceding years because equivalency in exchanges between agriculture and industry have been violated. It is difficult to cover expenditures with earnings. This is why it is very important to reexamine procurement prices and to increase the interest of the farmer. Until we solve this problem it is impossible to create normal economic relations in cotton farming. Our proposals are directed at the corresponding union organs. We are awaiting their examination. Also needing a solution are our proposals to utilize as economic stimulants deductions of a part of the tax from circulation from those enterprises in our country which today process cotton fiber cultivated in Uzbekistan.

[Correspondent] For the last 3 years a so-called double accounting system has existed in cotton farming—according to gross yield and according to fiber. To what degree has it justified itself?

[Nishanov] The transition to paying for raw materials depending on the content and quality of fiber has played a positive role. The average output of fiber has increased. Through its above-plan production alone enterprises annually received 170-200 million rubles. As an experiment procurement points are being transferred to kolkhozes and sovkhozes. We must take the next step—to fully make the transition to account-keeping and the reception of products only according to fiber.

The restructuring of the economic mechanism in cotton farming, as in other branches, must proceed on the basis of the principles of radical economic reform. We feel that we must plan stable state orders for cotton fiber. A certain part of products should be left at the disposal of enterprises for sales on a contract basis. Under such conditions cotton farmers can also enter the international market. By means of the more intelligent management of affairs enterprises will be able to raise productivity of the basic crop and simultaneously to increase the contribution into solving the food problem.

[Correspondent] Statistics confirm that increases in agricultural production output during the last 2 years hardly cover natural population growth in Uzbekistan. Isn't this the reason for the expensiveness in markets? At the same time a great deal of the harvest is lost due to the weak storage and processing base. This was discussed by delegates of oblast party conferences. This problem was posed urgently at the central committee plenum.

[Nishanov] Food production has increased but there has been no noticeable growth in per capita consumption. For fruit, vegetables, potatoes and melons there has actually been a decrease. Enterprises do not have anywhere to process them themselves so they began to deliver more produce into the national fund and are striving to sell surpluses in distant regions. This is the reason for the high prices in local markets. In order to correct the situation we are now significantly expanding the area in fruits and vegetables. Due to the predominance of cotton there are many problems involving livestock raising.

An adequate food supply is impossible without a decisive struggle against harvest losses. And they are still great. The real torment for kolkhozes and sovkhozes is the unloading of products. Transport is late. We can present a mass of examples of the deterioration of the harvest due to a violation of the railroad delivery schedule. Kolkhozes and sovkhozes suffer enormous losses due to this and the purchaser often remains empty-handed. Storehouses are in an extremely unsatisfactory state; many of them are not equipped with refrigerators as a result of which great losses are tolerated.

We need a radical restructuring of the storage and processing base. A certain change has been seen. Since the start of the five-year plan storage capacities have been increased significantly. By 1991 they will be doubled. We are organizing large firms and agricultural combines. The republic cost-accounting cooperative association, "Uzbekistan," for the production, procurement, processing and trade of fruits and vegetables is already in operation. Such associations are being created in all oblasts. In solving the food problem we are also counting on trade-middleman cooperatives. Through our own efforts we are manufacturing lines for the processing of fruit and vegetables. But I think that the manufacture of such equipment must be quickly organized in the country's enterprises.

Until the year 2000 the republic has decided as a minimum to double the production of basic types of food. This will enable us to fully stop milk imports. However, the delivery of meat from the general union fund, despite the growth of the republic's own production, will have to be increased. Here, I think, everything is proper. After all, this is the essence of the efficient specialization and the inter-republic division of labor.

[Correspondent] So how shall we respond to the question, "Cotton or food?"

[Nishanov] In just one way—both cotton and food. Let us not forget that the Uzbek SSR is an integral part of a huge country. We must run our economy in a way that will be good for both ourselves and others.

### **Cotton Monoculture Debate Spurs More Reader Reaction**

#### **Cotton as Income Producer Stressed**

18300439 Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian  
14 Feb 89 p 2

[Article by Kh. Radzhapova, brigade leader of the cotton-farming brigade of Kommunizm Kolkhoz, Srednechirchikskiy Rayon, deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the Uzbek SSR, Tashkent Oblast: "We Need Cotton!"]  
[For previous reporting on this issue, see pages 97-103 of the JPRS series SOVIET UNION: POLITICAL AFFAIRS, JPRS-UPA-89-021, date 4 April 1989.]

[Text] I read the PRAVDA VOSTOKA articles by academicians M. Mukhamedzhanov and I. Iskanderov and thought, who is right? Whose side will the peasants take? After all, the long and unyielding disputes about the cotton monoculture could not but reach us. This is why I decided to express my opinion.

If we speak honestly, in the past I would have expressed by attitude toward cotton simply—to cultivate as little of it as possible. Why? Because there was no fairness in paying wages. This is why during harvesting kolkhoz farmers rarely went into the fields. Many directors closed their eyes

to this, recruiting helpers from outside. As we know this cost a pretty penny.

My attitude toward the problem first began to change during the years of perestroika. Let us look, for example, at wages for harvesters. There was so much talk about this before but it is only for this harvest that wages have been increased to 15-20 kopecks per kilogram. The majority of enterprises completed the harvest through their own efforts. And weather is not even the problem. Each day every member of our brigade harvested no fewer than 170-200 kilograms of cotton. Judge for yourselves—what was our annual wage? Why should we give it to someone else? We have also begun to receive significantly more during the vegetative period of cotton. Contracts and the check system of wages have materially interested peasants. In other words, cotton remains the crop that feeds the peasant family.

In the article of Academician Iskanderov I learned for the first time that 145,000 tons of meat are delivered to the republic from the general state fund. The cost of a ton of raw cotton approximately equals that of a ton of meat—this is something to think about; after all, we supply significantly more fiber. At one time an attempt was made to grow cotton in the Ukraine. It was unsuccessful. Who should cover the cotton shortage? Evidently it should be those regions in which the soil-climatic conditions are most favorable. But we also have the right to complain about the delivery of products which we do not produce. We need an equivalent exchange.

Of course livestock raising must be developed and crop rotations must be organized but we cannot turn away from cotton. One thing I did not find in the articles of the academicians is a realistic consideration of sowing area. In the spring we sow one field. Until fall we cut irrigation channels several times as well as passages for cultivators and cotton harvesters. According to the opinion of specialists, the land that is not accounted for reaches 5-7 percent of general area. Yet many people pretend that they do not know about this. In Kazakhstan, for example, two graphs—sowing and harvesting area—are foreseen in statistical accounting data. Why don't we have this kind of record-keeping? Over 10,000 hectares are sown in the region. So go ahead and calculate how much actual cotton is embezzled.

New horizons in cotton farming are opening up with the transition to leasing. The manager must be returned to the land. Then there will be enough of everything—cotton, milk, meat and vegetables.

#### **Agricultural Efficiency, Diversification Urged**

18300439 Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian  
14 Feb 89 p 2

[Article by V. Lev, chairman of the reclamation department of TashSKhI [Tashkent Agricultural Institute] and professor, and D. Khasanov, assistant professor in the reclamation department: "Again a Monoculture?"]

[Text] Today the situation involving cotton farming is a complicated one in the republic. The unbalance of the

agroindustrial complex has encompassed all branches and the reason for this is the long-term rule of the monoculture.

The task consists of introducing a scientifically-based technology for cultivating cotton and crop-rotation crops, by means of this of increasing their productivity and of strengthening the economies of kolkhozes and sovkhozes. Cotton should comprise no more than 60 percent of irrigated and salinated soils.

The example which M. Mukhamedzhanov points to is convincing: by decreasing the area in cotton and by introducing vegetable and feed crops into production Savay Sovkhoz of Andizhan Oblast expects to well-foundedly increase the enterprise's total income in 5 years from 13 to 21-22 million rubles. We can dispute the conclusions of Academician I. Iskanderov that only cotton farming can provide a high level of profitability for the enterprise. A large income is achieved not only by the selection of the basic crop but also to a large extent by means of an improved ameliorative condition, the soil fertility level and labor organization.

With the existing structure of sowing area enormous capital investments into reclamation building are not capable of correcting the situation within the APK [agroindustrial complex]. The return on invested resources remains low.

As we know the situation involving food crops is poor. Last year quotas for the production of potatoes, vegetables, melons, fruit, and berries remained unfulfilled. It is hardly possible to include the aforementioned crops in the group of unprofitable crops; here again the cotton gross yield and the monoculture are in action.

Cotton farming can develop successfully only in coordination with alfalfa crops, which increase fertility and hinder salination of the soil.

Crop rotations are not being studied or propogandized sufficiently, even in higher educational institutions. In order to train highly qualified specialists it is important to have not only a well-equipped laboratory but also teaching fields where examples can demonstrate the best technologies for cultivating agricultural crops and for scientifically-based crop rotations. At the present time at the teaching enterprise of the Tashkent Agricultural Institute imeni Kirov not a single hectare of cotton has been left in a crop rotation to show to students. The monoculture resulted in a decrease in the productivity of the raw material; in recent years yield has fluctuated within the limits of 19-26 quintals per hectare. This is lower than average republic indexes. The quality of farming is low and there are no engineering irrigation systems. On the fields of the teaching farm there is practically nothing for the students to learn (and also there is nowhere for them to live).

In order to increase productivity and the quality of cultivated industrial as well as food crops it is essential to move toward decreasing the area in cotton. Real crop rotations should be introduced.

Having improved the reclamation condition of land and the use of water and land resources we must take a bold step in order to create the opportunity for a decisive step forward.

### Cotton Planning Seen as Detrimental

18300439 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 9, 1 Mar 89 p 12

[Article by Narbay Khudaybergenov, Tashkent: "Dearer than Life?"]

[Text] The word "plan" has entered firmly into our lives. But any plan, be it individual, family or national economic can be fruitful only if it is on a firm foundation, if it is borne of life itself and if it allows us to produce whatever is necessary.

Since the central planning organs do not coordinate the principles of planning "from below" and "from above" I see nothing surprising in the fact that state orders continue today to be dearer than human life.

I will present one of the characteristic proofs of this—the article of E. Khudayberdiyev, brigade leader of Kokand Sovkhoz, Uzbekskiy Rayon, Fergana Oblast in the 23 December 1988 issue of PRAVDA: "Cotton is all around us. There is nowhere to pasture livestock, to procure feed or to plant gardens. At the beginning of winter a kilogram of grapes cost 3 rubles."

This kind of distressing situation is characteristic of all of Uzbekistan and all cotton-sowing regions of Central Asia and it is based on a whole series of factors. But the main factor is closely tied to planning, which is discussed reasonably by the well-known Uzbek economist S. Usmanov, director of the Central Asian Scientific Research Institute of Agricultural Economics: "...enterprises were assigned indexes 'based on what had been achieved' without a consideration of the specific abilities of kolkhozes and sovkhozes. Year after year the disproportions between plans and real possibilities became more and more insurmountable but the strict imperative inexorably assigned from above, "the plan at any price," and "the plan under any weather conditions twisted the arm and sometimes the conscience. No director was interested in what the fulfillment of the plan would cost. The capabilities of administrative cadres was determined only by the degree of unquestioning fulfillment of their assignments from above, adaptability and desire to please, ability to embellish the situation and to achieve a victorious report under any circumstances."

The principle "the plan at any price" not only opens a wide road for misrepresentation, bribery and corruption but also forces honest directors to resort to embezzlement and machinations. Otherwise they are forced to part with everything they have in their aktiv—with posts, with possibilities for self-realization. After all it is no secret to anyone that politically-mature, intelligent and talented people attempting to withstand misrepresentation were blackmailed, accused as enemies of both the people and the party, imprisoned and even killed. This is why their struggle against negative phenomena more often than not ended with bitter defeat. I. Bogdanov, director of the laboratory of the Council to Study Production Forces and Natural Resources, USSR Academy of Sciences, was fully justified in saying: "...cotton has changed from the republic's national pride to the national disgrace. After all this cotton has become the source of unspeakable enrichment and the source of large-scale crime. After all it is the domination of cotton, the forced planting of the monoculture that undermined the foundation of soil fertility and the physical and moral health of the people."

In speaking about the fact that it is precisely the cotton monoculture that has become one of the main reasons for the drying up of the Aral Sea and the catastrophic deterioration of the ecological situation in the Aral area the scientist demands a sharp curtailment in the production plan for "white gold" based on the real conditions and possibilities of Uzbekistan.

Not only scientists but many writers, publicists, journalists, the majority of responsible workers and directors of the means of mass information and all of society in the republic unanimously confirm that it is impossible to solve food problems, increase the standard of living of villages and cities, improve the ecological condition of the region, achieve land fertility and finally give the country quality cotton—without refusing the artificially-elevated plan that has no scientific foundation. USSR Gosplan reacted to this by...increasing the quota for cotton production for 1989. And at its November session last year the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet confirmed it. Here is what we read in the speech of the republic Gosplan chairman: "The plan (for 1989—N. Kh.) foresees an improvement in the structure and the future development of the agroindustrial complex. In accordance with this the state order for the production of cotton fiber was set at 1,710,000 tons" (PRAVDA VOSTOKA, 19 November 1988).

But here nothing is said about the fact that the new state order for 30,000 tons of fiber is larger than last year's, and now its total volume corresponds to 5,400,000 tons of raw cotton, as compared to last year's 5,250,000 tons.

The chairman of Uzbek Gosplan is aggressively set against everyone who does not unquestioningly accept his directives "from above" for elevated state orders: "...almost all oblasts have come out with proposals to decrease the quota for 1989 with regard to the production

and procurement of cotton, meat and other products while at the same time presenting demands for significant increases in central capital investments from state resources." But after all these proposals are derived from vital necessity.

The head of the republic's planners says nothing about this and prefers to deal a shattering blow to his opponents in this way: "This arrangement is directly contradictory to the demands of perestroika and is dependent and consumerist in nature. It is not difficult to understand that this kind of approach is unacceptable, that it is mistaken in its foundation."

Please let me ask what specifically is wrong with the requests and proposals of the oblasts? What in them is counter to the demands of perestroika? Instead of scientific proof and a justified answer there are groundless denials. The logic of the chairman of the republic's Gosplan is such: Since the given regulations come "from above," then everyone "below" must immediately subordinate himself to them without any discussion.

Alas, this is what actually did happen—oblast directors did not find the strength within themselves to defend their position. They were not brave enough.

Sometimes it is hard for us mere mortals to understand what important national economic problems concern state and party activists at the very "top." For example, it has been clear to any normal person for a long time that without the elimination of the cotton monoculture it is impossible to achieve a radical change in production of agricultural products or in the production of quality cotton. But here G. Kadyrov, chairman of the republic council of ministers, judging by his article "On the Path of Acceleration" (PRAVDA VOSTIKA, 3 January 1989) has a somewhat different opinion. While keeping quiet about the monoculture he at the same time admits, "In consumption of meat and dairy products the republic is in one of the last places in the country," and asks himself the following question: "How will this important socio-economic task be dealt with?" Further we have his answer: "First of all, with the stabilization of cotton production, the introduction of scientifically-based crop rotation and the increased fertility of fields it is proposed to further increase the area of fruits and vegetables and feed crops, which in turn will enable us to increase the production of food products. Secondly, the introduction of contract and lease forms of labor organization facilitates, as practical experience demonstrates, a sharp increase in productivity. Thirdly, production growth will favor the development of private enterprises in villages, orchard and grape fields and subsidiary farms of enterprises and organizations. Fourth, and this is especially important, the decisive strengthening of the processing and storage base will have an effect..."

Of course all of these measures are wise. But can they be useful if the elevation of the state order precisely does not permit us to stabilize the production of cotton and to expand the area in food crops? What about crop rotations? Can they be introduced if as before 80-85 percent

of irrigated land is occupied by cotton? How can private and auxiliary enterprises become widely developed if cotton is everywhere?

Of course we must strengthen the base for the processing and storage of agricultural products, but what is there to process and store if there is a shortage of products everywhere because there is nowhere to produce them?

Until we find convincing answers to these vitally important and not at all idle questions, until we are all liberated from the prison of the plan, there can be no talk of a genuine revolutionary transformation, rejuvenation and purification of our lives. Will the day come when planners assimilate this forgotten truth and begin to establish their assignments only on the basis of that which is dictated by life itself? Will they learn to coordinate the interests of "the top" with the real conditions of life?

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